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BURMESE SKETCHES

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TAW SEIN KO, R.I.H., I.S.O.

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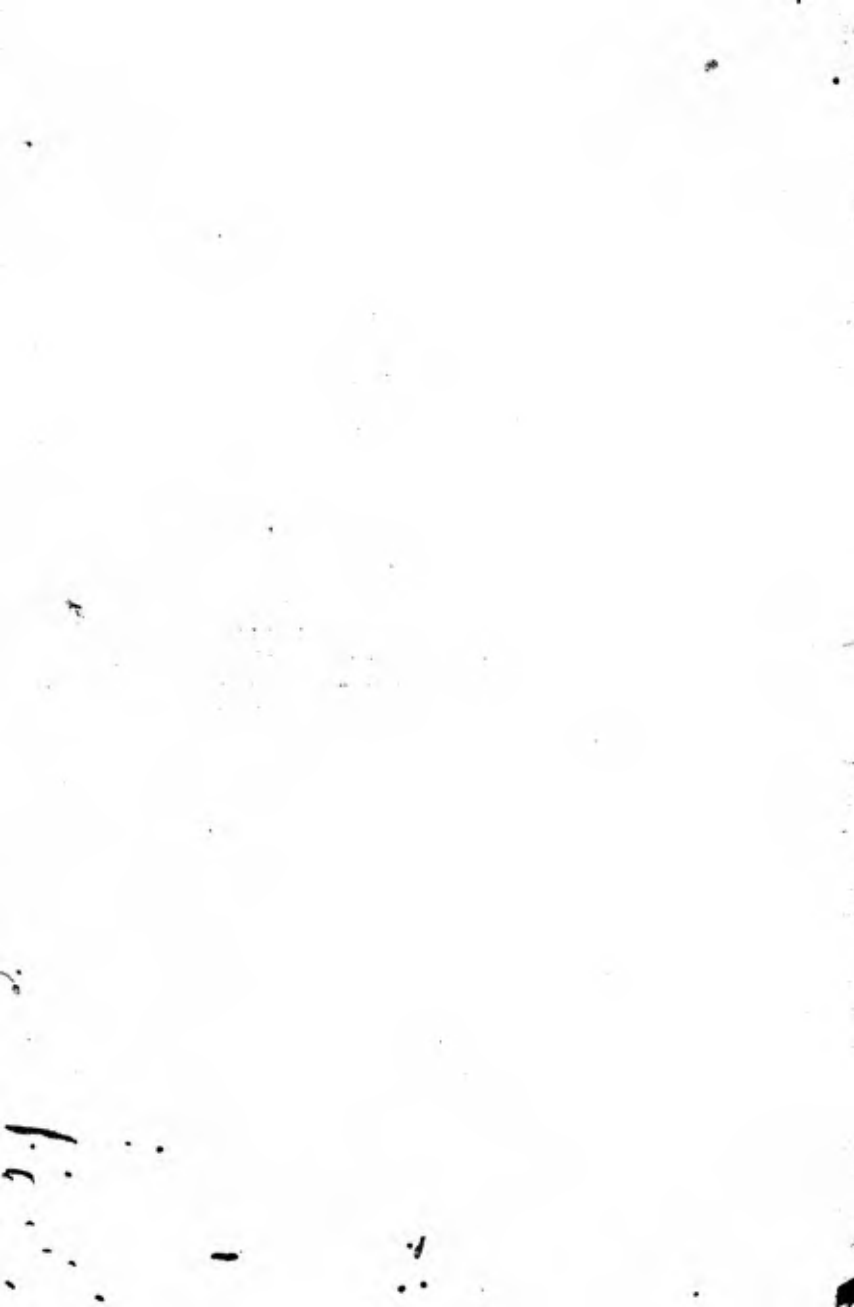
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Dedicated
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to

SIR HERBERT THIRKELL WHITE, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
one of the most illustrious rulers of Burma
who, by his justice, sympathy
and solicitude for their welfare and prosperity,
won the attachment, devotion,
and loyalty of the whole Burmese nation.





PREFACE.

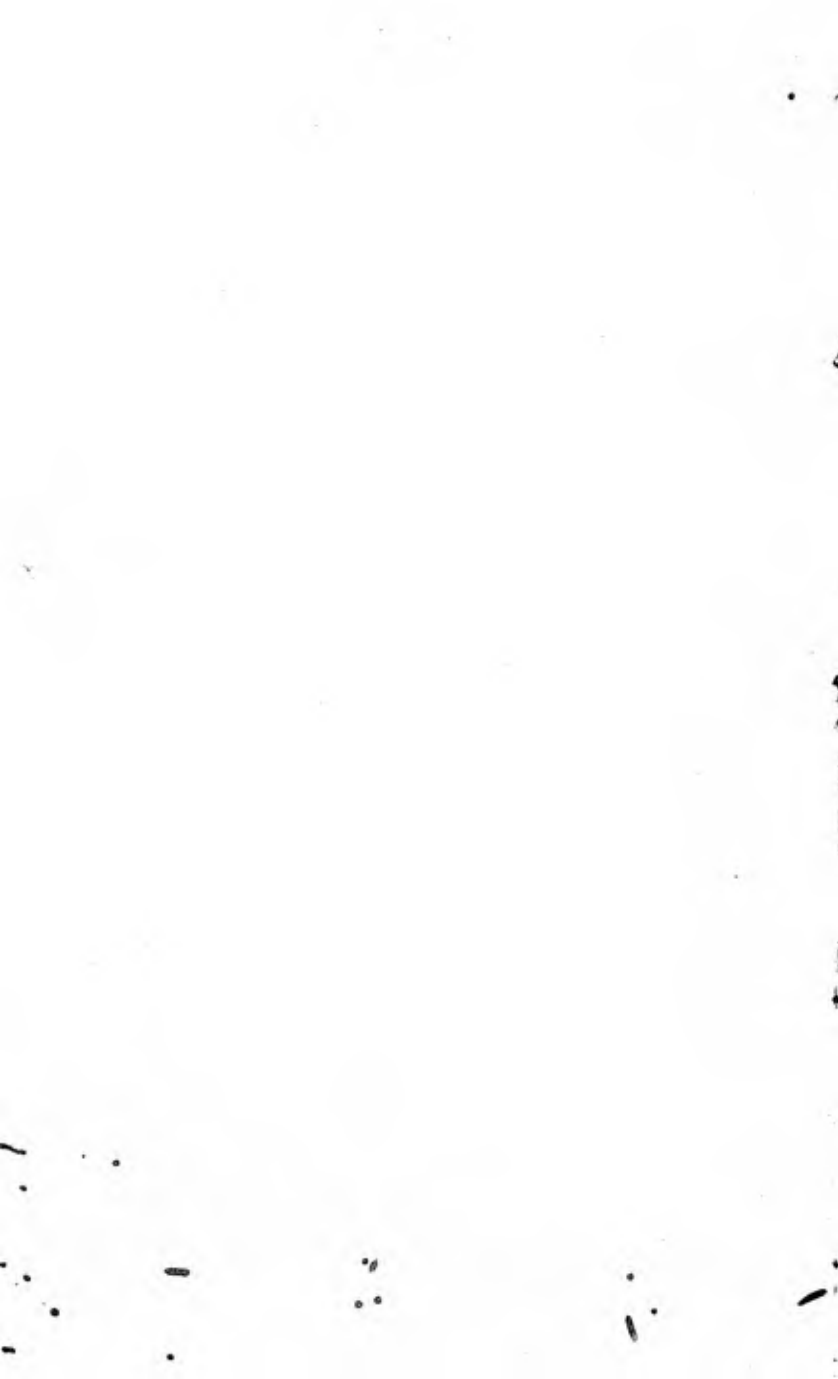
THE majority of the articles now reprinted, for the first time, appeared in the pages of *Our Monthly, Buddhism, Rangoon Gazette, Burma Research Society's Journal, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Transactions of the IXth Oriental Congress (1892), Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica*, and the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, during the last 30 years, i.e., from 1883 to 1913. In some cases, they constitute a contemporary record of passing events, while in others they are the musings of a recluse, who takes a keen interest in the progress of humanity. The compilation of this volume was undertaken at the suggestion of some of my friends, who were anxious that a selection of my fugitive essays, covering a wild field of studies, should be made and preserved for the benefit of the younger generation of the Natives of Burma.

TAW SEIN KO.

PEKING LODGE:

MANDALAY, 15th November 1913.





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BURMESE SKETCHES.

CHAPTER I.—ETHNOLOGY.

WHENCE DID THE BURMESE COME?

THE subject presents an interesting field of enquiry, and, with regard to the true meaning of the word မြန်မာ Mran-mā, the national designation of the Burmans, three views have been advanced by men of great learning, who have patiently investigated it. Mr. Hodgson appears to conclude that the appellation can be traced to the native name for *man*; Sir Arthur Phayre thinks that it is derived from *Brahmā* signifying a "celestial being," and that it was not adopted till after the introduction of Buddhism and after several tribes had been united under one chief; and Bishop Bigandet considers that it is another form or a corruption of "Mien," a name the Burmans brought with them from the Central Asian plateau. It is curious that the term Mranmā မြန်မာ, by which the Burmans are known, is not met with, in Burmese history, till we come to the destruction of Strikhetarā, when it is recorded that the inhabitants were split up into three parties, viz:—မြန်မာ Pyu, ကရဝီ Kanyan, and မြန်မာ Mranmā. This happened during the reign of Supaṅṅānagarachinna in the year 16 Sakkarāj, or the 672nd year of the Buddhist era corresponding to 128 A.D. The King's nephew, Samuddarāja, collected the remnant of his tribe and founded တောင်ကြီး Taungnyo. Three years afterwards, the Talaings, who inhabited Rāmañña, came and destroyed the newly-founded State. He then removed his capital to တောင်ငူ တရားတော် Thet-thā-pandaung, from thence again, after six years, he removed to မြန်မာ Mindōn. In the third year of his removal, he was attacked by the Arakanese of Dhaññavati, and so, for the third time, he removed to ယုံရွာ Yōn-hlut-kyun, and, joined by the inhabitants of 19 Pyu villages, he founded Pagan.

Such is a meagre account of the appearance of the Mranmā tribe on the scene of Burmese history. Who they were, whence they came, whether they were foreign or autochthonous to the country, are points left unsolved by native histories.

As to the tradition regarding the Gangetic origin of the Burmans, we give the following translation of the tradition prefixed to the "Life of Alaungpaya" in palm leaf MS:—

"There were 252,556 solar Kshatriya kings, who were

directly descended from Manu, the Mahāsammata; or beginning from Ukkāmukha, the son of Ukkākārāja, there were 82,013. All these kings ruled successively in Majjhimadesa (Northern India). Sometime before the birth of Gotama, the noblest of these 334,659 Princes, Pañcālārāja, who ruled over the two countries of Kosala and Pañcāla, asked the King of the Koliyas for the hand of his daughter. On account of the former King using words unbecoming the dignity of the latter, a war ensued which ended in the defeat of the Sākivamsa solar King of the Koliyas, who lost the cities called Devadaha, Koliya and Kapilavatthu. After this, Abhirāja, a Sākivamsa Prince, came away to Burma with his army and founded Tagaung or Sankassa, of which he became King. Abhirāja died, and his two sons, Kanrājāgyi and Kanrājāngè shared the kingdom between them, the elder ruling over Dhaññavati or Arakan and the younger over Tagaung."

India is cut off from the rest of Asia on its three sides by the ocean, and on its northern side the Himalayan range stands as an insurmountable barrier. This range, however, has two sets of opening: one on the west, and the other on the east. Through the western opening, or, relatively speaking, the north-western passes, invaders have entered India from time immemorial. Semiramis—if we may believe the tradition—Alexander the Great, Seleucus, the Greco-Bactrian King, Tamerlane, Baber, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdalli—in short, all the invaders within the memory of history, have entered India through these passes; and researches, both historical and philological, have shown that the Hinduic immigrants when they separated themselves from the Iranic branch perhaps, through some religious differences, took this very route. They entered India; and, after settling in the Punjab for some time, gradually pushed their way eastward along the course of the Ganges. Historians of India agree in telling us that, before the advent of these Aryan Hindus, the land was peopled by three distinct races: (1) the Kolarian, occupying the western half of Northern India; (2) the Tibeto-Burman, occupying the eastern half; and the (3) Dravidian, occupying the rest of India south of the Vindhya hills. These black-skinned races, about whom the Mahābhārata sings—for Dushyanta once found his refuge among the Āsuras—and the earlier Buddhist books make mention under the terms of 'yakkha' or 'rakkhasa,' were easily driven before the fair Aryans, who were superior to the aborigines both in physique and intellect as well as in organization. This displacement of race by race is but an instance of the Darwinian

theory of the "struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest." The defeated races were either exterminated, enslaved, or made to seek protection in the jungle and mountain fastnesses. During these turmoils, the Tibeto-Burman tribes would naturally seek the route through the Patkoi hills for egress out of Bengal. Up to this day, there are straggling tribes still to be found in Bengal. These, and the wild tribes inhabiting the eastern spurs of the Himalayas commencing from Nepal down to the Assam side, the Burmans, Chins and Kachins, form but one ethnic stock. The distinguishing characteristics of this group have been well described by Hodgson.—"Head and face very broad, usually widest between the cheek-bones, sometimes as wide between the angles of the jaws; forehead broad, but often narrowing upwards; chin defective, mouth large and salient, but the teeth vertical and the lips not tumid; gums, especially the upper, thickened remarkably; eyes wide apart, flush with the cheek and more or less obliquely set in the head; nose pyramidal, sufficiently long and elevated, save at the base where it is depressed so as often to let the eyes run together, coarsely formed and thick, especially towards the end, and furnished with large, round nostrils; hair of head copious and straight; of the face and body deficient; stature rather low, but muscular and strong. Character phlegmatic, and slow in intellect and feeling, but good-humoured, cheerful, and tractable, though somewhat impatient of continuous toil. Polyandry yet exists partially, but is falling out of use. Female chastity is little heeded before marriage, and drunkenness and dirtiness are much more frequent (in the mountains) than in the plains. Crime is much rarer however, and truth more regarded, and the character on the whole amiable."

Thus, if this theory about the Gangetic origin of the Burmans is proved and accepted, the tradition about the immigration of Abhirāja from Bengal into the upper valley of the Irrawaddy will assume more significance. In the meantime, materials should be collected. A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Chinese languages still remains to be compiled. A good scientific history of Burma giving special attention to the sudden appearance of a tribe called *Mranmā*, and to the circumstances leading to the Burman conquest of the maritime provinces under Anawrata (11th century A.D.) is still a desideratum. The languages, traditions, myths, songs, ballads, and everything that is likely to afford some quota of evidence before the bar of anthropology and history are still to be studied. And last, but not least, there is the physical ethnic

link in the shape of physiognomy. After all these have been attended to, the theory advanced above will stand or fall.

BURMESE ETHNOLOGY.

BURMA is supposed to have been occupied by a Negrito race, which even now extends its habitat from the Andamans to the Philippines. This race was succeeded by another of a different stock, the Mon-Khmer, which is now represented by the Talaings and Cambodians, and by the straggling and scattered tribes of Khasias in Assam, and the Palaungs and Was in the Northern Shan States. The Mon-Khmer appears to have entered Burma from north-eastern India, as it has left its congeners, the Bhils and Gonds, behind. This race was again succeeded by the Shans and Karens, who came originally from Yunnan and Kueichou respectively. These were succeeded by the Tibeto-Burman tribes, of which the Chins are the earlier, and the Marus, Zis, and Lashis of the Kachin Hills are the later representatives. The new comers immigrated into Burma from Eastern Tibet, where the allied tribes, the Lolos, Mantzu and Sifans, are still to be found.

We have, then, the following four stocks in Burma :

- (i) The Negrito ;
- (ii) The Mon-Khmer ;
- (iii) The Shan-Karen from China ;
- (iv) The Tibetan.

Burmese history is very vague, due, no doubt, to the exterminating wars, and to the excessive zeal for vandalism displayed by the victors. We have no traditional histories or national ballads like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyāna* of India, which indicate the ethnic movements and the displacement of the indigenous tribes by the Aryan race. In these circumstances, we have to rely on comparative philology, comparative religion, and anthropometry to supply us with the necessary evidence.

TAUNGTHAS.

POPA was the hunting ground of the kings of Pagan, and when they became powerful, they ousted the Taungthas from that locality. History is silent as to the date of their exodus and their migration to the Chin Hills. Subsequently, they

moved down from the hills into the plains. They have a written language of their own, and their books are written on slips of bamboo. The Taungthas are thus aliens in the Chin country; their language is different from that of the Chinbòks. There is no intermarriage between the Taungthas and the Chinbòks, marriage being confined to allied clans or tribes only. Marriage among near relations is forbidden.

THE ANCIENT PYU OF YAMÈTHIN.

SIR FRANK GATES, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Commissioner, Meiktila Division, wrote to me that a brick structure, which the local people called a Pyu sepulchre, had been lately revealed by a landslip on the bank of the Nyaunggaing *chaung* in the Yamèthin district, which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Nyaunglun Railway Station, and suggested that I should visit the locality. I dug on the spot indicated, but found nothing. I also dug at another place, which is about 400 feet to the south-east of the landslip. Here, too, no ancient urn was discovered. A huge brick was, however, unearthed, which measured 1 foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. Not satisfied with the result of my labours, I had a third brick structure dug into at Kulègyin, which is about 3 miles to the north-east of Nyaunglun. Here, too, my efforts were fruitless. The locality is, however, redolent of traditions regarding the Pyu people; and these sepulchres have apparently been dug into in former days. The Pyu flourished about 2,000 years ago, and treasure-hunters have had a long time for carrying on their nefarious work.

The hill ranges near Nyaunglun appear to be the habitat of the remnants of a great many broken tribes, and to present a good field for ethnographic studies. The hills have afforded an asylum to the warring Karens, Taungthus, Shans, Chins, and Burmans.

The country about Yamèthin appears to have been occupied by a succession of races in the following order:—

- (1) The Ba-u, who may be identified with the Taungthus of the present day. The Taungthus of Thatôn call themselves P'a-o or ancient fathers.
- (2) The Pyu, a Tibeto-Burman tribe, which passed through Ssuch'uan and Yunnan, and which succumbed to Brahmanical influence at Prome. It shifted its habitat to Pagan in the 1st century A. D. There

was a Pyu settlement at Taungdwingyi in the Magwe district in the 5th century B.C., and the earliest Pyu settlers of Yamèthin came, most probably, from Taungdwingyi rather than from Prome or Pagan.

(3) The modern Shans.

(4) The Burmans.

I have seen some Pyu urns in the Prome district. They are shaped like the Indian *lotah*, a round earthenware vessel with a small neck. I was informed that each family had a square brick vault of its own, and that the urns were arranged in some order of precedence.

KATHÈS OR MANIPURIS.

MANIPUR was conquered, in 1764 A. D., by King Sinbyuyin, the second son of Alaungpaya, who brought away captives of war to his capital, which was Ava at that time. The descendants of these captives do not intermarry with Burmans, and they remain Hindus, with their four-fold division of caste. The Brahman Kathès were employed as astrologers at the Burmese Court to compile the calendar for each year, in which the agricultural seasons were fixed, and they were also employed to mutter *mantras* at the coronation of a Burmese King. So, these Brahman soothsayers were a *sine qua non* at the Court of the Burmese Kings.

It is not known when the staff of Brahman astrologers was first entertained at a Burmese Court. In Burmese history, they are frequently mentioned as ဝဏ္ဏဝါ Ponna-pyu and ဝဏ္ဏဝါ Ponna-nyo or the White and the Black Brahmans, i.e., the white or the Brahmans imported from India, and the black or indigenous Brahmans, who have settled down in Burma for a long time. In the reign of Bodawpaya (1781—1819), there was an importation of Brahmans, with their sacred books, from Benares in Northern India.

They are still recognised as Brahmans by Hindus, and they still maintain their caste distinctions. They do not intermarry with the Burmese. They are still consulted by the Burmese for propitious dates for festivals, marriages, journeys, commercial transactions, etc. It was the custom of the members of the Burmese Royal Family and the Burmese officials to make offerings to Buddhist monks as well as to Brahman astrologers and to employ the latter at their weddings, *shinbyu*,* and ear-borings to mutter *mantras*† and to utter pious aspirations.

* Induction into the noviciate of the Buddhist Order.

† *Mantras* are prayers or incantations.

In the Burmese time, the Brahman astrologers occupied an honoured position in Burmese society, and their high caste was recognized by the Hindu immigrants from India.

THE CHIN AND THE KACHIN TRIBES ON THE BORDERLAND OF BURMA.*

By the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the British Government was brought face to face with a number of hill tribes inhabiting its mountainous fringe of borderland, of which the Chins and the Kachins have proved to be the most troublesome. Ethnically, these tribes belong to that vaguely defined and yet little understood stock, the Turanian, which includes among others the Chinese, Tibetans, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, and the Turks. The evidence of language, so far as it has been studied, leaves little doubt that, ages ago, China exercised much influence on these Turanian races, whose habitat, it is said, included the whole of Northern India before its conquest by the Aryans. As in India, so in Burma, one of the problems of administration presented to the British Government is how best to effect the regeneration of these ancient peoples, who have now lapsed into savagery, and are devoid of any power of cohesion, in order that they may be a source of strength, and not of weakness, to the Empire.

Omitting certain districts of Lower Burma, where numbers of Chins are found, the country inhabited by their wilder brethren may be described as touching Burma on two sides, namely, on the east of Arakan, and on the west of Upper Burma; or, in other words, it may be described as the block of country entirely surrounded on all sides by territory under direct British administration or protection as the State of Manipur. The recalcitrant Chins recently referred to in the English newspapers are those who inhabit the latter locality, and who owed allegiance to the late ruler of Upper Burma. They are a strong and hardy race of fierce and desperate fighters, who take a special delight in raiding into adjoining districts, kidnapping men, women, and children, and driving off cattle. The human captives are either sold into slavery, or held to ransom; and be it said to the credit of the Chins, that they are not cruel task-masters to their slaves. Raiding appears to be one of the normal conditions of their existence.

* Reprinted from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1893.

By raiding their numbers are reduced, which is thus a check on the population; and, if successful, a more bountiful food-supply is secured. They may be described as agricultural nomads, moving continually from one locality to another in search of new lands for cultivation. Their system of agriculture is extremely wasteful. It consists in burning down tracts of forests and sowing, on the land, their cereals without ploughing or irrigating it or transplanting the seedlings. Holes are made in the ground with a pointed bamboo and a few seeds are placed in each of them. Their agricultural outturn and the spoils of their chase are hardly sufficient to keep them in health and comfort. Their supplies have to be supplemented from the plains, whence they must also get their salt, and the materials for chewing and smoking—to which they are extremely addicted—such as tobacco, cutch, lime, and betel-nut, besides cotton twist or cotton fabrics to keep themselves warm.

The Chins are broken up into a number of tribes or clans, whose basis of organization is the worship of common tutelary deities, or consanguinity, real or fictitious. Their language presents many dialectical differences, which are so pronounced that they are liable to be taken for linguistic differences. Continual feuds and constant warfare have caused their segregation and estrangement from each other.

The Chins have some very quaint traditions which may be of some interest to students of anthropology. They say that mankind sprang from 101 eggs laid by their goddess Hli. From the last egg were produced the first male and female Chin, who stood in the relation of brother and sister to each other. These two were separated; and when they met each other again, the brother had espoused a bitch. The sister wanted to marry her brother, and she appealed to Hli for assistance. The goddess advised that certain presents should be given to the bitch in order to induce it to give up its conjugal rights. The advice was followed, and the happy consummation was brought about. It is said that, owing to this circumstance, the worship of the dog *nat* or spirit as the tutelary deity of Chin women, was instituted. Be this as it may, the dog still plays an important part in the religious ceremonies of the Chins, and is used for sacrifice as the sheep was among the ancient Hebrews.

They have another tradition that the mediator between Hli and mankind is Maung Sein, or Nga Thein. This deity plays the rôle of a reporter, and the happiness or torment of mortals depends on his accounts of their actions in this life.

Of all the surrounding tribes, the Chins appear to reflect most the pre-Buddhistic phase of the Burman. Some of the customs of these two peoples, as those relating to marriage, inheritance, and slavery are so strikingly similar, that he who would like to know about the Burmese people of prehistoric times might, with advantage, study the language, habits, manners, and customs of their congeners, the Chins. The fact was recognized by the late Professor Forchhammer of the Rangoon College and the Honourable Mr. Justice Jardine, now of the Bombay High Court, at whose instance a compilation was made of the Customary Law of the Chins.*

The Kachins, or Singphos, as they are called in Assam, are a race of hardy mountaineers, whose habitat extends from that country to the frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan. The disruption, in the eleventh century A.D., of the powerful ancient Shan Kingdom of Pong or Mogaung, which had hitherto served as a breakwater against the waves of barbarian immigration from the west, appears to have facilitated the irruption and the subsequent settlement of the Kachins in the valley of the Irawadi, where they are now found. In several localities they have ousted their weaker neighbours, the Shans; and they have advanced as far as the Ruby Mines district to the north of Mandalay. Their encroachments on the Shan States, especially North Theinni or Hsenwi, have been steadily going on, and the development of their earth-hunger has been assisted by their employment, as mercenaries, to support certain parties or chiefs who were divided in council. The Kachins, however, who are now creating disturbances, and against whom military operations are being undertaken, are those residing within the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Bhamo, and of the Superintendent of the Northern Shan States.

The settlement of the relations between the Kachins and the British Government is an important matter, because it

* Mr. Jardine and the late Dr. Forchhammer made a number of translations of the Burmese Manus, and proved that they were the famous Hindu Manus in a Buddhist and Pali form. They are contained in "Jardine's Notes on Buddhist Law," Nos. 1 to 8 (the recognized authority on that Law); "The Jardine Prize Essay on Burmese Law" by Dr. Forchhammer; and "The Wagaru Dhammathat" by Dr. Forchhammer—Text and Translation. We regret that since the departure of Mr. Jardine, the study of Burmese Law should have been much neglected, and these interesting researches should have been discontinued. The "Customary Law of the Chins," by a Burmese Magistrate at Thayetmye, was in Burmese Manuscript, pigeon-holed and forgotten at the Rangoon Secretariat, when Mr. Jardine and Dr. Forchhammer disinterred it, got it translated and edited it. It also contains an introduction by Mr. Jardine and some remarks by Dr. Forchhammer, as also by Col. Horace Browne, a former Commissioner of Pegu. It is well worth reading as the Chins are a curious people, about whom also much is said in "the Gazetteer of British Burma."—Ed.

materially affects the peace and order of Burma. Opium, which is extensively grown in Yunnan, is smuggled by the Kachins into British territory, together with liquor and arms. Their hills afford also a convenient asylum to many bad characters, rebels, and other disturbers of the public peace, who are a standing menace to the plain country. Some of the principal trade-routes between Burma and China are dominated by the Kachins; the india-rubber forests, the jade quarries, and the amber mines are situated in their country; and their exactions and harassments are most vexatious, and are stifling the resuscitated commerce, which requires every fostering care. Besides, they have repeatedly committed raids on the settled villages in the plain country, and have in some cases assumed a defiant and sullen attitude in their intercourse with the paramount power.

The one great difficulty in dealing with the Chins and the Kachins is their want of any inter-tribal coherence. Almost every village forms an independent community; society is loosely organized among them; *vendetta* is the common motive for aggressive action; and the authority of the chiefs is neither supreme nor effectually exercised. The decisions of the elders of a tribe frequently over-ride the commands of its chief; and such decisions are generally based upon superstitious omens. The Chief Commissioner of Burma has, however, attempted to weld these inchoate units into germs of harmonious village communities, by granting *samuds* to the *de facto* chiefs, who are assured of British protection on condition of paying a light tribute as a visible token of submission, and exercising their lawful rights in accordance with custom and usage. There can be no doubt of the practical results of this plan of settlement, beneficial alike to the Government and to these wild hill-men.

Many of the Kachins have visited the headquarters of the Bhamo district, and have seen with their own eyes British forts and British guns, and other appliances of civilized warfare. Last year an attempt was made to produce a similar impression of British power on the Chin chiefs of the Siyin tribe. A party of them were brought down to Rangoon under the charge of a young Burmese officer, and were shown the men-of-war, the arsenal, etc. They stayed several days at Rangoon, and went back to their country. Their memory must either be very short, or the impression produced on them too evanescent, because not long after their return home they broke out again, cutting telegraph-wires and setting British authority

at defiance. A party of sepoys with the officer, who had accompanied the chiefs to Rangoon, was sent out to meet them, and the young Burman, who was a most promising officer, was shot dead.

The Chins and the Kachins will seldom acknowledge their defeat, because they imagine that human beings in their quarrels and fights are always assisted by their tutelary deities, who are something like the Homeric gods. They may be defeated and routed to-day, but who knows that, by the help of their gods, victory may not be theirs to-morrow?

These hill-tribes seem to identify the advent of British rule with the extinction of slavery, which is a most cherished institution among them, with the cessation of all raids and slave-hunting expeditions, and of the levying of blackmail. They strongly resent their being deprived of the exercise of their predatory habits, and they chafe at being put under any settled form of government which imposes upon them the duty of living by peaceful industry. In their treatment of women, the intensity of their feuds, their repugnance to manual labour, their fidelity to their chiefs, their superstition and their fine sense of honour, they resemble somewhat the Scottish Highlanders at the time of the Revolution; and, as in the case of the latter, it will take some time before they settle down, become reconciled to the new order of things, and learn to adapt themselves to the new set of circumstances.

At present, both the Chins and the Kachins are unlettered races. Though several systems of alphabet have been invented for them by certain Christian missionaries, they still remain untaught, uneducated, ignorant, and superstitious. However, there exist grounds for hoping that education and progress will follow in the wake of peace and order, upon a life weaned from primitive barbarism, as exemplified in the case of the Karens of Lower Burma, whose transformation was effected by the noble efforts of the American Baptist Missionaries, headed by Wade and Mason.

The policy pursued by the late Burmese Government towards these wild hill tribes was one of *laissez faire*, and consisted in conciliating them by conferring gold umbrellas and grandiloquent titles on their chiefs. Their submission was never complete, and they often resisted successfully the advance of the Burmese forces sent against them. It is true that some of them paid tribute in the shape of ivory, beeswax, gold-dust, etc.; but the payment was intermittent, and raids on

the plains were frequent. Such a state of things cannot now be tolerated under a highly organized form of Government. A disturbance in one part of the country reacts on another, dislocates trade, and interrupts communication; and it is a policy beneficial to all concerned, to make these wild tribesmen amenable to the orders of the paramount power, and to convince them that it is to their interest to settle down into peaceful and law-abiding communities.

In connection with the Burmese method of dealing with these savage tribes, it may be of interest to mention something about the oath of allegiance administered to their chiefs. These tribesmen do not recognise the sanctity of merely religious or moral sanctions; and the Burmese Government appears to have considered that the best guarantee for the due observance of the obligations contracted by them would be to prescribe certain formalities based on their prevailing superstitious practices. The indigenous custom of taking an oath of friendship among the Chins is as follows: The contracting parties and their friends meet at an appointed place, and proceed to kill a number of dogs, and boil them in huge caldrons. The spokesman of one party then declares: "As long as the horns of the buffalo remain crooked, as long as hills and mountains remain immovable, and as long as streams and rivers continue to run their course, we will remain faithful friends, help each other in the hour of need, and associate together in concord, as brothers of the same parents. I call upon the deities to bear witness to this compact of amity and friendship." This done, the contracting parties proceed to drink rice-beer—their national beverage—in which spears and swords have been dipped, and to eat dog flesh in honour of the solemn occasion. The spears and swords symbolise that, if faith is broken, the defaulting party will meet with sure death from a sword or spear. The Kachin oath is somewhat different. A bamboo platform is constructed, and a buffalo is killed near it. A portion of the blood of the slaughtered animal is procured and mixed with native spirits, in which spears and swords are dipped. Then, after invoking the presence of his tutelary deities, each chief comes up to drink the liquor, muttering imprecations that, should he be unfaithful to the compact, some dire calamity may befall him. The Burmese form of the oath of allegiance is devoid of the slaughter of animals. The obligations imposed, and the imprecations attached to the breach of them, are written down on a piece of paper. The highland chief, to whom the oath is administered, kneels down with his face in the direction of the Burmese Capital, and

holding this paper in both hands, recites its contents after the Burmese master of the ceremony. Then the paper is burnt and the ashes are thrown into a bowl of water, in which models of the five kinds of weapons, namely, the arrow, sword, spear, gun, and cannon, are dipped; and this water is handed to the chief, who drinks it.

The extension of *Pax Britannica* over the Chins does not involve any international complications as that over the Kachins does. But it is to be hoped that the friendly relations happily subsisting between England and China will go a long way to minimize possible difficulties and misunderstandings, and to accelerate the work of pacification and civilization which the British Government have undertaken to perform; and that the delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier, about which negotiations are in progress in London, will settle once for all the question of territorial limits of the two Powers in regard to the belt of debateable country inhabited by the Kachins.

The accidental phonetic resemblance between the words Chin, Kachin, and China is apt to be associated in the popular mind in this country with some pronounced political connection between the Chinese and these tribesmen. No misapprehension is more misleading than this; because, except in the case of a portion of the Kachin tribes living in jurisdiction which is admittedly Chinese, the influence of China is, at the present time, neither felt nor acknowledged by these mountaineers. In common with many tribal designations in Asia, both the appellations, *Chin* and *Kachin*, signify "man" *par excellence*. The word *Chin** is a Burmese corruption of the Chinese *Jin* or *Yeu*; and *Kachin* is a term obtained by coining. It is made up of *Ka*, meaning *body* or *person* (which is etymologically related to the Chinese numerative *Ko*), and *Chin*, a corruption of the abbreviated form of *Singpho*, signifying *man*, by which the Kachins designate themselves. The appellation *Chia*, unlike *Singpho*, is not a national designation known to the Chins, who call themselves *Shu*.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that some measure of recognition is now accorded to Burmese affairs in Parliament, which has to deal with matters relating to a world-wide empire. On the 7th February last, Mr. Graham elicited a reply from the Under Secretary of State for India regarding the five military police parties engaged in the Bhamo district. Again on the 23rd of the same month, Mr. Gibson Bowles asked the

**Chang*, in Kachin, means *black*. The word *Chin* is pronounced *Chang* by the Arakanese.

Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the cause and origin of the warlike operations carried on against the Kachins on the Upper Irawadi, whether any representations had been received from the Chinese Government deprecating British interference with the territory of the Kachins, and whether the information in his possession showed that the continuance of warlike operations against the Kachins might lead to irruptions of Chinese similar to those of the "Black Flags" encountered by the French in Tonkin. Sir Edward Grey replied: "The operations in question were rendered necessary by repeated raids of the Kachin tribes in the hills, on the settled villages situated in the plain country east of the Irawadi. An attempt was first made to repress these by punitive expeditions, and as that measure proved insufficient, a more definite attempt was made in 1891 and 1892 to enforce order among the tribes with a view to the safety of the villages under our jurisdiction, and the proper protection of the great trade routes between Yunnan and Mandalay. Representations have been made by the Chinese Government, and explanations have been given in reply, which have been received in a friendly manner. Negotiations are in progress with China for a settlement of the frontier which, it is hoped, may shortly be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is not desired to continue the operations longer or further than is necessary for the object already mentioned, and there is no reason to believe that they will give rise to Chinese irruptions of the nature indicated. At this stage of the negotiations it would not be desirable to make the correspondence public."

Latest advices from Burma indicate that the refractory Kachins in the neighbourhood of Bhamo were encouraged to persevere in their unreasonable and unequal struggle by the persuasion of the ex-Sawbwa or Chief of the Shan State of Wuntho, who was himself to blame for his deposition and exile. It will be remembered that since the British annexation of Upper Burma this Chief had rejected all offers of friendship, had refused to meet responsible officers to discuss the relations of his State with the Government, and had placed all possible obstacles against the project of constructing a railway through his territory. Not content with assuming an attitude of disloyalty and mistrust, he violated British territory in 1891 by sending armed men across the frontier. The challenge thus thrown down was accepted. He was driven to the Kachin hills; and his State was amalgamated with the British district of Katha in Upper Burma. He has now shown his hand in

stirring up disaffection and strife among the hill-men, who have afforded him a safe asylum. The other agency which is playing a similar rôle among the Kachins in the vicinity of Theinni is Saw Yan Naing, the elder of the Chaunggua Princes, one of the grandsons of Mindôn. In the early days of the annexation he was one of the claimants to the vacant throne; and numerous lives were lost before he was forced to seek an asylum in the Kachin hills on the Burmo-Chinese frontier. These two foci of disaffection have to be reckoned with in dealing with the Kachins, whose credulity and gullibility, like that of the Chins, is unbounded, especially when their fair-spoken seducer has donned the garb of authority or is of royal extraction. The Chins, a few years ago, experienced the consequences of rallying round the standard of a Pretender, the *soi-disant* Shwegyobu-Prince, of plebeian extraction.

The precise cause of the recrudescence of disorder among the Chins cannot yet be explained; but it is hoped that the spirit of unrest is not general among them, and that it will subside without prolonging the necessity of the employment of armed force in inducing them to accept British suzerainty cordially and peacefully.

In dealing with the Chins and the Kachins, it might be as well to bear in mind that among them, as was among the ancient Romans, to avenge the death of a kinsman is more than a right: it is a religious duty, for his *manes* has to be appeased; and that it is more than probable that the notion of blood-feud, which is supposed to have been created between them and the British Government, is responsible in some measure for the repeated disturbances among these wild tribesmen.

ORIGIN OF THE BURMESE RACE.

"WITH the rivers, which descend from the high country of Central Asia, and from their diverging waters on all sides, after traversing extensive regions of lower elevation, into the remote ocean, these nations also appear to have come down, at various periods, from the South-Eastern border of the Great Plateau, in different parts of which, tribes are still recognised who resemble them in features and language."—Pritchard's *Natural History of Man*, Vol. 1.

Owing to its geographical situation, Indo-China was in the past profoundly affected by every great political or religious convulsion that shook India and China, the two centres of

civilization in Middle and Eastern Asia. The Greek invasion of India under Alexander the Great and the establishment of a Greek Monarchy in Bactria under Seleukos Nikator (327-306 B. C.)¹ stirred up the nomadic hordes of Central Asia. The consolidation of the Mauryan dynasty under Chandra Gupta (316-292 B. C.) with its capital at Magadha, the modern Bihar, accelerated the movements of the diverse Aryan and non-Aryan races of Northern India; and this was followed in the next century by the systematic and organised propagation of Buddhism by Asoka (264-223 B. C.) throughout India, and in countries extending from Afghanistan to China, and from Central Asia to Ceylon. These dynastic and religious movements afforded facilities of communication and intercourse, and paved the way for the advent into India of the Scythian tribes (126 B. C. to 544 A. D.)². In China also, during the rule of the Ch'in and Han dynasties (B. C. 225 A. D. 25), the inroads of the Scythians had repeatedly to be repelled. It was not till the time of Wu Ti (B. C. 140-86), the sixth Emperor of the Han dynasty, that war was carried into the enemy's country; Khotan, the Pamirs, and Kohand were then annexed; and China attained her modern dimensions. In the north, Korea was added to the Chinese dominions, while in the south, Canton, Tonquin, Hainan, Kuangsi, Kueichou, Western Yunnan and Ssuch'uan were subjugated (B. C. 111-109)³. The coast regions south of the Yangtze, including the valleys of the Canton and Tonquin rivers, were occupied by the Yueh tribes, the ancestors of the Mon-Annam race, which shared with the Burmese the sovereignty of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. These conquests created a disturbance among the Tibeto-Burman tribes (Lolo, Sifan, Mantzu) of Ssuch'uan,⁴ the Shan tribes (Jung, Ailo, Pa-i) of Yunnan, and the Karen tribes (Miaotzu, Pho) of Kueichou⁵ and dispersed some of the conquered hordes towards the west and south. The course of these waves of migration appears to have followed the valleys of the rivers flowing through Chinese territory. The valleys of the Salween and Mekong rivers were dominated by the Shan and Karen tribes, who dispossessed the Wa and Lahu races of their lands, while the Tibeto-Burman tribes made a detour along the fringe of the Tibetan plateau and entered Burma by the Irrawaddy valley. There appears to have been another wave of immigration through the valley of the Chindwin river, because through

¹ Hunter's *Indian Empire*, pages 210-214.

² *Ibid.*, pages 221-230.

³ Parker's *China, Her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce*, pages 19-23.

⁴ Baker's *Travels and Researches in Western China*, pages 60-129.

⁵ Hsiao's *Three Years in Western China*, pages 224-232.

the Manipuris and Kacharis of Assam, the Burmese race could be connected with the Nagas, Kukis, Mishmis, Abors, Lepchas and Bhutias, and with the cognate tribes of the Brahmaputra valley and the Tibetan plateau⁶. Which of these two waves was antecedent to the other cannot be ascertained; but, judging by the early expansion of the Aryan race as far as Assam, it may be assumed that the Tibetan hordes, which entered Burma through the Chindwin valley, preceded the cognate tribes from the north. In its migration from the north, too, the Burmese race left, as it were, footprints in the shape of isolated tribes, which afford strong linguistic evidence as to their ethnic relationship. These are the Szi, Lashi, Maru, Hpon-Ngachang (or Maingtha), Lisaw (or Yawyin) tribes found scattered amidst the Shan and Kachin populations along the Chinese frontier⁷.

Burmese history does not afford any material assistance in tracing the origin of the race because the great object of the historians is to efface the low beginnings of their rulers and to exalt their lineage; and the problem ever present to their minds is how to connect their kings with the Solar and Sakya dynasties of India, to which Gotama Buddha belonged. The attempt is as futile and preposterous as to trace the descent of King George V from the house of Abraham and David. Dates are not even assigned to the 50 kings, who are said to have reigned at Tagaung in the early centuries before Christ. Abhirāja is stated to have founded Tagaung in the ninth century B. C. He was an Aryan Prince from Northern India, but the course of his migration is not set forth. On his death, the crown was bequeathed to Kanrājāṅgè, the younger of his two sons; while the elder Kanrājāgyi, moved to the Chindwin valley, established his son, Muducitta, as king at Kale, and, crossing over to Kyaukpadaung, became the first ruler of the Arakanese, who thereby claim to be the elder branch of the race. Leaving one's estate to the youngest child, in preference to the elder ones, is a custom still prevailing among the Chins and Kachins, the theory being that grown-up children should provide for themselves, and that the parental estates should be left to the youngest child as a reward for attending on the parents in their old age and sickness. Following this custom, the elder Prince had to found a separate kingdom elsewhere. The probable inference from such vague statements is, that a Tibeto-Burman settlement was established at Kale in the Chindwin valley under

⁶ Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Introduction et seq.

⁷ Anderson's *Mandalay to Hmawin*, pages 464-473; Scott's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part I, Vol. 1, pages 557 and 587; and Lewis's *Burma Census Report 1901*, pages 77-79.

the guidance and control of Aryan immigrants from Assam or Gangetic India, and that outposts were pushed forward to Tagaung on the Irrawaddy and to Kyaukpadaung in Arakan. The settlement in Arakan grew in strength and power, but the colony at Tagaung was overshadowed by the powerful Shan State of Maingmaw in the Shewli valley, and was subject to frequent invasions from the neighbouring States. Tagaung was eventually destroyed, first by the Shans, and again by wild tribesmen. The infusion of fresh Aryan blood under Dhajaraja in the 6th century B. C. did not save the colony, and the surviving colonists founded a new settlement in Prome in 483 B. C. To the east of Prome lay a Pyu State ruled by a Queen called Nam Khan, who was evidently of Shan nationality; to the south were the Talaings, and to the west and north were the Kanrans, under which designation were included both the Karens and the Southern Chins, whose habitat still extends from Sandoway to Mindon in the Thayetmyo District. Mahathanbawa, the first king of the new dynasty, married the Pyu Queen, and his son Duttabaung founded, in 443 B. C., Thare Khetara (Sri Kshetra in Sanskrit and Srikhetta in Pali), which Professor Lassen has happily rendered 'The Field of Fortune.' Here, intercourse was opened with Gangetic India, and tradition ascribes the ancient buildings at Prome to Duttabaung.* The changes of faith in Northern India were reflected in the new settlement, and the order of succession appears to have been as follows: (1) Buddhism of the 'Southern School'; (2) Buddhism of the 'Northern School'; (3) Saivism; (4) Vaishnavism. It was here that the *Saka* era, which began in 78 A. D., was first used, and the amalgamation of the Pyu, Thet and Kanyan tribes was begun. After the destruction of Prome by civil war in 95 A. D., and the foundation of the new kingdom at Pagan in 108 A. D., the national appellation became stereotyped as Mramā.

Shan supremacy was acknowledged in the Chindwin valley and on the left or eastern bank of the river Irrawaddy as far south as Prome, while the remaining portion of the country, extending from the Chindwin river to Bassein and Sandoway, was occupied by the Chins and Karens. There were frequent wars among the several tribes, and the fruits of victory were never enjoyed long. To these rude tribesmen, the Aryan immigrants imparted the rudiments of civilisation and the gentle arts of peace.

* Phayre's *History of Burma*, pages 7-11.

A good deal of controversy has raged round the derivation of the term 'Mranmā'.⁹ Two rival theories hold the field. Phayre says that the word is derived from 'Brahmā', while Bigandet traces it to 'Mien,' the Chinese designation for Burma. The latter theory has found more favour among recent writers on the country, but the balance of evidence appears to incline towards the former. The word 'Mien' does not occur in Chinese history till about 1,000 A. D. Previous to that period, and during the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A. D.), Burma was known to the Chinese as P'iao, which is pronounced Pyu or Piu by the Cantonese, who retain the archaic pronunciation of the Chinese language.¹⁰ According to Burmese history, the appellation 'Mranmā' did not come into use till the amalgamation of the Pyu, Thet, and Kanyan tribes had been effected in the first century A. D. Thus a greater degree of antiquity could be claimed for 'Mranmā' than for 'Mien'.

Burma is known to the Manipuris as Maran, to the Shans and Assamese as Man, and to the Palaungs as Mrang. The Talaings call the Burmans Hamera, which is abbreviated to Hamè. To the European writers of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the country was known as 'Baragmah',¹¹ and to the people of Bengal it is known as 'Brahmode-h,' which is the Bengali form of the Pali designation 'Brahmadesa' or the country of Brahma, the creator of the Hindu Triad. Now, 'b' and 'm' are interchangeable in the Indo-Chinese languages, and 'Brahmā' became 'Mrahmā,' and the letter 'h' being, by assimilation, changed into 'm' the word 'Mrahmā' assumed the form 'Mrammā'. Again, 'r' and 'y' are also interchangeable, so 'Mrammā' may be pronounced as 'Myammā.' In the system of Chinese transliteration, each word is cut up into monosyllables to suit the genius of the language, so we get the form 'Mien' (Myan). In Burmese poetry and song, Burma is always spoken of as Myantaing, i.e., Mien Tien, the appellation by which the country is known to the Chinese; and in Burmese prose, the form 'Mranmā' is used, while in works written in Pali, the form 'Mramma-desa' invariably occurs. The derivation of the word 'Mranmā' is intimately connected with that of the word 'Prome,' the centre of the Brahina cult and of Brahmanical influence. This word should be spelt 'Prohm,' because it is another form of the Talaing name

⁹ Spearman's *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, pages 141-2.

¹⁰ Eales's *Burma Census Report*, 1891, page 134.

¹¹ Parker's *Burma with special reference to her Relations with China*, pages 5-6.

¹² Dalrymple's *Oriental Repository*, Vol. 1, page 351. In 1760 Captain Alves spoke of the King of Burma as the 'Baragmah King'.

'Brohm'.¹² Again, 'Brohm' is another form of 'Brahm', 'a' and 'o' being interchangeable. Therefore, Prome means, 'the City of Brahma.' There is thus every reason to suppose that, in the first century A.D., when the fugitives from Prome found an asylum at Pagan, they were known to the surrounding tribes as the 'people from the City of Brahma' or simply as the 'Brahma People.'

It will be interesting to deal briefly with the principal names of the localities and tribes named above. As regards Tagaung, Colonel Yule is of opinion that it may be identified with the Tugma metropolis of Ptolemy¹³. The Chinese call it T'ai kung. It was devastated by the Chinese under Kublai Khan in 1284 A.D.¹⁴ Terra-cotta tablets, bearing ancient Sanskrit legends, have been found among the ruins of Tagaung, and this fact affords some corroboration to the statement of native historians that, long before Anawrata's conquest of Thatôn in the 11th century A.D., successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India had passed through Manipur to the Upper valley of the Irrawaddy, and that these immigrants brought with them letters, religion, and other elements of civilization.

Sṛīkshetra or Tharekhetarā, whose capital city is in the Prome district, is mentioned as Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo¹⁵ by the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang (629 A.D.). Its antiquity is further attested by extensive archaeological remains.

The Pāli name for Pagan, the third capital of Burma, is 'Pugāma,'—the village of the Pu or Pyu tribe. During the 8th century B.C., under the Chou dynasty, Chinese history mentions a barbarian tribe called the 'Puh'.¹⁶ In the 7th century A.D., under the T'ang dynasty, a tribe called the P'iao, Piu, or Pyu, is also mentioned. As evidenced by the derivation of the name 'Pagan', the two tribes appear to be identical. This identification appears to be supported by the title 'Pyusawti', assumed by the third king of Pagan (167-242 A.D.). 'Pyu' means the Pyu or Pu tribe; 'Saw' or 'Chao' means a 'Prince' in Shan, the Shan kingdom of Talifu being called 'Nanchao' in Chinese history; 'Ti' means 'Ruler' in Chinese, as in 'Shangti', 'Wu Ti.' Thus 'Pyusawti' means the Princely Ruler of the Pyu tribe, or, of Pyu origin. It was this king who made

¹² In Cambodian, Burma is called *Prohm* (cfr. page 2, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Tome I, 1902.)

¹³ Pinyre's *History of Burma*, page 4.

¹⁴ Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, page 95.

¹⁵ Bral's *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, Vol. II, pages 190, 200.

¹⁶ Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. V, Part I, pages 132-3.

the country capable of cultivation. Much of Pagan must have been of marsh and forest, for mention is made of the multitudes of tigers, gigantic birds, wild boars and flying squirrels, that infested the kingdom.

From the first immigration of the ancestors of the Burmese race, their course had been southwards, mainly along the course of the Irrawaddy, and most of the older occupants of the country, who had refused to be absorbed into the Burman polity, were pushed before them to the borders of the sea, and to hill tracts forming the fringe of the valley of that river. The Talaings or Mons, who belong to the Mon-Annam race, were the first to feel the impact of the Burmese occupation. When Prome was founded in the 5th century B.C., they had already an organised system of government with its capital at Taikkala near Thatôn. They, too, received their letters and religion from Indian settlers, namely, from the ancient kingdom of Kalinga. The very term 'Talaing' is a corruption of 'Kling',—a native of Kalinga,—the designation under which natives of India are still known in the Straits Settlements. The Talaings are now found in the Irrawaddy, Pegu and Tenasserim Divisions. Considerable numbers of them are also found in Siamese territory, having been driven thither by the Burmese invaders of the Alaungpaya dynasty.

Next to the Talaings in importance and diffusion are the Karens, who are called 'Yang' by the Shans, the prefix 'Ka' or 'Kha' signifying a 'slave of conquered race' as in Ka-chin, Kha-wa, Kha-kui, Kha-kaw, etc. They are divided into three tribes: Sgau, Pwo and Bghai. The Taungthus, who are contiguous to the Karens, come nearest to the Burman in ethnical affinity. At the present day, the Karens are found from Toungoo to Mergui and also in the delta of the Irrawaddy. They may be identified with the Kanyans of Burmese history.

The Karens and Taungthus apparently occupied the valleys of the Sittang and Salween rivers before the advent of the Talaings. There were frequent wars between the Taungthus and the Talaings, and the former, who are now found in the Southern Shan States, claim Thatôn, which was conquered by Anawrata in the 11th century A.D., as their ancient capital.

The Shans are now found in the Chindwin valley and on the northern and eastern borders of Burma. The Shan language, which is closely related to Chinese, presents very few dialectical varieties. An educated Siamese from Bangkok can understand a mountaineer of Khamti; and a Shan from the banks of the

Chindwin river can carry on an intelligible conversation with a Tai pedlar on the Chinese frontier. This remarkable unity of language over such a wide area indicates that at one period of their history the Shans must have possessed a strong political organization and a widely cultivated literature. The unification of their language must have been effected either at Nanchao in Yunnan, which was conquered by Kublai Khan in the 13th century, A.D., or at Kamboja or Cambodia, the ancient empire of the Khmers, which was also a great centre of Shan civilization in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Cambodian influence in the valleys of the Salween and Irrawaddy rivers ceased with the foundation of the Kingdom of Siam, with Ayuthia as its capital, in 1350 A.D. Kamboja was also known as Chamba, and its people were called 'Cham', which has been corrupted into 'Shan,' the appellation applied by the Burmans to the whole Tai race.

The Chins constitute the most important element in the fusion of the Burmese race. In physique, language and custom, the Chin reflects the Burman in his pre-Buddhist days. Phayre thinks that the word 'Chin' is a corruption of 'Klang,' which means 'Man' in the Chin language. The Chins call themselves Yo, Lai, Zho or Shu. A cognate tribe called Lei, who tattoo themselves, have been found at Hainan in China. The word 'Chin' is pronounced 'Chang' in Arakanese, and I am inclined to refer it to the Kachin word 'Chang' meaning 'black.' The faces of all Chin women, at least of the southern tribes, are tattooed black; and it is quite probable that this custom gave rise to a national designation in the Chindwin valley, where the Kachins and Chins are still near neighbours. It may be noted that the Chins are also known to the Shans as 'Chang.'

The Thet or Sak of Burmese history, who, with the Pyu and Kanyan tribes, migrated from Prome to Pagan in the first century A.D., were a Chin tribe. According to the last Census, Thet was spoken by only sixty-seven persons in the Akyab district.

The Chins are found from northern Arakan to Bassein and from Cape Negrais to the Chindwin valley, with off-shoots in the Henzada, Tharrawaddy, Prome and Thayetmyo districts.

A few of the Chin customs¹⁷ may be mentioned, which have a counterpart among the Burmese. They have an hereditary

¹⁷ Compare with Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pages 114-5. The Chins are described as 'Khyens' by Dalton.

priesthood, called *Passin*, who officiate at weddings and funerals, are conservators of traditions and exorcists in cases of sickness or seizure by devils or witches. These *Passin* are called *P'assan* or *P'aksan* in archaic Burmese, and are now known as *Nat-kadaus* or spiritual mediums. These *Nat-kadaus* still preserve their ancient tradition and practise exorcism; but their presence is no longer required at Burmese weddings and funerals. The sacred tree among the Chins is 'Sabri,' called 'Sabre' or 'Thabye' (*Eugenia*) by the Burmese, who hold it equally sacred and make use of its leaves in all domestic, State and religious ceremonies. The most striking resemblance as embodied in the *Dhammathats*, (Burmese law-book,) is the pecuniary compensation exacted for all sorts of crime. Even for man-slaughter, no life must be taken, the penalty of not paying a fine being slavery. Lastly, the tie of connubial union is a loose one, and chastity before marriage, is not a virtue that is either universally practised or appreciated.

Reference has been made above to the incursion into India, in the 2nd century B. C., of the Scythian or Tartar tribes. It is remarkable that some of the Tartar customs should have prevailed in Burma. The coincidence cannot be ascribed to mere accident, or to the common mechanism of the human mind, but must be due to the heritage of the race. A universal custom, which extended for a thousand years over the whole Tartary, was for the son to take over his deceased father's wives (with the exception of his own natural mother), and for younger brothers to take over the widows of their elder brothers. This custom lasted among the members of the Burmese Royal Family for about 2,000 years from the 5th century B. C. to the 15th century A.D. The left side was the most honorable, and officials were appointed in pairs, one for the Left and the other for the Right. The heir to the throne was called the Eastern Prince. There were certain superstitions regarding the position of the sun and moon, and touching certain days in the calendar. In all important undertakings, the state of the moon was taken into account, the waxing period being considered more auspicious than the waning. Valuable objects were buried with the dead, but no mourning was worn, and no mound, tablet or tree was erected over the grave.¹⁸ The whole of the above customs were observed under the late Burmese Government. There remains the question as to the autochthonous races, which were displaced by the Burmese, Talaings, Shans, Chins and Karens in Burma. Before the advent of these

¹⁸ Parker's *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, pages 6, 17-21.

nations, the Negrito race appears to have occupied South-eastern Asia, including Burma. Remnants of it are still found in the Andaman Islands, Philippines, Borneo and Malaya.¹⁹ There were also other primitive races, now represented by 'broken tribes' which were absorbed or pushed aside in the scramble for territory. These were noted for their short stature, darkness of complexion, dullness of intellect and deficiency of resource. These predicates could equally be applied to the Wa tribes of the Chinese frontier; to the Kha Muk and Kha Met of the Siamese frontier, Annam and Tongking; to the Lahu or Mu Hso of Mong Lem, Kengtung and Keng Cheng; and to the Akha of Kengtung.

This article has, I trust, indicated the nature and extent of the field of enquiry presented by Burma to students of comparative ethnology and philology; and it is to be hoped that, before it is too late, efforts will be made by Government as well as by scholars to portray the physical types, languages, beliefs, manners and customs of these interesting peoples, and to connect them with the races and tribes of Yunnan, Kueichou and Szech'uan on the one hand,²⁰ and with the tribesmen of Manipur, Assam, the Brahmaputra valley and the Tibetan plateau on the other.²¹ Roads, Railways and Telegraphs, and the solvent tendency of British rule will have modified, before several decades are past, the habits and customs of these nascent nationalities, which have for so long enjoyed isolation, and have preserved through the ages the primitive thoughts and ideas of the childhood of Humanity, still unaffected by the so-called civilization of the outer world.

¹⁹ *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science* Vol. II, 1902, page 118
Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXII 1902, pages 413-417 (Semang and Sakai)

²⁰ *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, pages 96-107.

²¹ *Ibid*, Vol. XXXII, 1902, pages 445-466.

CHAPTER II.—PHILOLOGY.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BURMESE ALPHABET.

PRIOR to the 11th century A.D., the lapidary art appears to have been unknown at Pagan, for no stone inscriptions antedating the rise of Anawrata have been found. This has created a belief among writers on Burma that, before the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata, the Burmese did not possess an alphabet, and much less a literature. Such a belief has, however, been refuted by the researches recently made into the origin and development of the Burmese alphabet, and the broad facts elicited may be summarised as follows:

3rd century A.D.—Burma was conquered by the Kingdom of Shu, one of the three kingdoms into which China was then divided; and she became tributary to China.

4th century A.D.—The *Mahāyānist* form of Buddhism was introduced into Burma by Chinese missionaries, who taught it in Chinese. No Chinese epigraphic remains have, so far, been discovered, with the single exception of the Chinese inscription set up by the Mongols at Pagan in the 13th century A.D.

5th-6th centuries A.D.—The Chinese of the South were engaged in an incessant struggle with the Tartars of the North, and Chinese control and influence became considerably weakened, and Burma escaped from the thralldom of Chinese hieroglyphs and ideographs. The Indian form of *Mahāyānism* was introduced by Indian missionaries from Northern and Eastern India, who taught it in Sanskrit, using the alphabet of the Gupta period.

7th-8th centuries A.D.—In 622 A.D., under the auspices of King Srongtsan Gampo, the Tibetan alphabet was invented on the basis of the Laṅka letters, a variety of the Gupta character, and an active religious propaganda was pursued. In the 8th century, Nanchao, the Shan Kingdom of Talifu, annexed Burma, and became a medium of communication between Tibet and Burma; and Tibetan religious influences penetrated into Pagan.

The Bôn religion or Shamanism, and, later on, Lamaism or *Mahāyānism* with a peculiar hierarchy superadded, were introduced into Burma from Tibet. The Tibetan Bôn priests or "Bôn-gvepa" were the precursors of the Burmese *pōngyi* of the present day. The new system of faith was engrafted on the prevailing Indian form of *Mahāyānism*. The Tibetan priests left no appreciable impression on the language and literature of Burma; but the Burmese alphabet, judging from the arrangement of the letters, and the sounds accorded to them, appears to be a blending of the Tibetan and Sanskrit systems.

9th-10th centuries A.D.—Tantrism was introduced from Bengal through Assam and Manipur, and, possibly also through Arakan. Its priests, called "Aris," favoured Nāga-worship, and the *jus prime noctis* prevailed amongst them. They continued to use the Gupta alphabet, as well as the characters of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (800 to 1050 A.D.). Two gold plates have been found at Prome, which are inscribed in the Eastern Chalukyan character, a Dravidian script of this period.

11th century A.D.—*Hīnayānism* or Buddhism of the Southern School, whose vehicle is Pāli, was introduced into Pagan after Anawrata's conquest of Thaton in 1057 A.D. Copies of the Tripitaka, in that language, were obtained from Thaton and Ceylon.

12th century A.D.—Jain, Saiva, and Vaishnava influences completely disappeared at Pagan, as evidenced by the Kyaukku Temple, which was built in 1188 A.D. An outburst of architectural energy took place, which lasted from the 11th to the 13th centuries A.D. Pure *Hīnayānism* as well as Burmese epigraphy became firmly established.

13th century A.D.—The Mongols under Kublai Khan overran Burma in 1284 A.D. The Burmese Empire broke up, and the Shans and Talaings asserted their independence. These political upheavals produced no modification in the Burmese alphabet, which had been fully developed, and had assumed a permanent form.

The conclusion is inevitable that the Burmese alphabet was primarily based on the Gupta script of the 5th century A.D., which was imported overland through Assam and Manipur, and possibly, also through Arakan, and that it was modified, to some extent, by the Eastern Chalukyan character of the 10th century A.D., which reached Pagan by sea through

the Talaings. Pagan latterly received her letters and religion from Aryan or Northern India, while Pegu received hers from the Dravidians of the South. It was in the 11th century A.D., after the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata, that the Aryan and Dravidian systems were harmoniously blended at Pagan, and that thenceforward Burmese civilization assumed a definite aspect.

CHINESE WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

IN studying the Burmese form of Buddhism we have hitherto been accustomed to look only to India for prototypes and influences. The possible influence of China as a factor in the religious development of the Burmese has been overlooked. The Northern form of Buddhism, which was crystallized by the fourth Buddhist Council held under Kanishka, the Scythian King, in Kashmir, was, together with its Scriptures in Sanskrit, introduced into China, in 67 A.D., under the Emperor Ming Ti, who reigned at Loyang in Honan. Ball¹ says: "The first centuries of its arrival were marked by the translation into Chinese of numerous Buddhistic works; and there was considerable progress in making proselytes, for, in the fourth century, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of China were Buddhists."

Later on, Indian missionaries passed into China through Nepal and Tibet as well as Burma, and Chinese monks visited India and Ceylon by way of Central Asia and Afghanistan, with the object of studying Buddhism in the land of its birth and of making a collection of religious books for translation into Chinese. Buddhism was at the zenith of its power in China, in the tenth and twelfth centuries, not only being popular, but also exerting great literary influence.

It is extremely remarkable that terms intimately connected with Buddhism should have been borrowed by Burma from China and her translations from Sanskrit, rather than from Ceylon and her Pāli literature; and this circumstance alone is convincing proof that the Burmese are indebted to the Chinese for a good portion of their knowledge of Buddhism.

In the sixth century A. D., there was intercourse between China and Burma, and Edkins² says: "In A. D. 523, the King

¹ Ball's *Things Chinese*, p. 51.

² Pp. 104-105, *Chinese Buddhism*.

of Banban sent, as his tributary offering, a true *shārirā* (*she-li*) with pictures and miniature pagodas; also leaves of the Bodhi, Buddha's favourite tree. The King of another country in the Burmese peninsula had a dream, in which a priest appeared to him and foretold to him that the new prince of the Liang dynasty would soon raise Buddhism to the summit of prosperity, and that he would do wisely if he sent him an embassy. The King paying no attention to the warning, the priest appeared again in a second dream, and conducted the monarch to the court of Liang-Wu-ti. On awaking, the King, who was himself an accomplished painter, drew the likeness of the Emperor, as he had seen him in his dream. He now sent ambassadors and an artist with instructions to paint a likeness of the Chinese Monarch from life. On comparing it with his own picture, the similarity was found to be perfect."

The exchange of courtly amenities between the rulers of China and Burma must have been followed by a close religious intercourse, for we find it recorded in the Chinese ~~annals~~ that Subhūti, a Buddhist monk of Burma, was the translator of the *Mahāyāna-ratna-megha-sūtra*, which was lost in 732 A. D.³ Further Śrīkshatra or Prome is mentioned in the records of their travels by both Hiuen Tshang and I-tsing, who were in India in 629-645 A. D. and 671-695 A. D., respectively.⁴ When such intercourse began and how long it lasted, cannot, as yet, be determined with precision without examining the annals of the Later Han (25-589 A. D.) and T'ang (618-960 A. D.) dynasties. But, for practical purposes, it may be accepted that Buddhism was introduced from China into Burma during the fourth century after Christ, when nine-tenths of the population of the former country were Buddhist, and when the zeal and enthusiasm for the propagation of that religion had reached its highest point.

It is, indeed, remarkable that two out of the three Burmese equivalents for the "Three Gems," namely, for Buddha and Dhamma, should be derived from a Chinese source. *Sakra*, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, also reached Burma through China. The terms for such religious buildings as pagodas and monasteries are undoubtedly Chinese. The *Tripitaka* of the Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism, makes no mention of a rosary, and yet the Burmans imported it from China. The most remarkable of all the coincidences

³ Eitel's *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 161.

⁴ Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II., p. 200 and Takakusu's *Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, p. 9.

is, that the terms relating to the fundamental acts of the votaries of Buddhism, namely, *pūjā*, *dāna* and *namah* should be borrowed from the Chinese language, rather than from Sanskrit or Pali.

The above facts appear to indicate that :—

(i) Before the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata, King of Pagan, in the eleventh century A D., the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy professed the *Mahāyānist* School of Buddhism.

(ii) At Tagaung, Prome and Pagan, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Chinese missionaries taught Buddhism in Chinese, side by side with Indian missionaries who taught it in Sanskrit, but Chinese political influence being in the ascendant, Chinese monks were in greater favour and their teaching made greater headway.

(iii) Indian missionaries who visited China, and Chinese missionaries who visited India, reached their destination through Burma, their route being through Bassein and Bhamo.

(iv) Burma, being a half-way house between India and China, received the converging influences of Buddhism; but the latter country being the nearer neighbour, Chinese influences became predominant.

Chinese words in the Burmese Language.

Serial Number.	Burmese.	Meaning.	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	Pali.	Remarks.
1	Phu-rā: (pronounced Pha-yā:)	Buddha	佛爺 (Fo-yeh)	Buddha	Buddha	The Chinese form is the transliteration of the Sanskrit term Dharma, and is abbreviated to Ta-erh, or Ta-rā: in Burmese.
4	Ta-rā: (also pronounced Ta-yā:)	Law	達而麻耶 (Ta-rh-ma-yeh)	Dharma	Dharma	S is pronounced th in Burmese.
3	Saṅgha	Assembly	僧伽 (Seng-gia, or Tsung-ga)	Saṅgha	Saṅgha	It is remarkable that the vowel i after the consonant s in the Burmese word is derived from Chinese.
4	Si-lā: (pronounced Sa-rā:)	Indra or Recording Angel of Buddhism	釋迦 (Shih-chia)	Sakra	Sakra	Nerhan is an older form of the word in Burmese.
5	Neikhan	Nirvāna	涅槃 (Nieh-p'han)	Nirvāna	Nibbāna	
6	Pu-t'ō: (pronounced Pa-t'ō:)	A pagoda	佛陀 (Fo-t'ō)	Cetiya	Cetiya	
7	Kyang	A monastery	宮 (Kung (pronounced Kiong in the Amoy dialect))	Vihāra	Vihāra	In the Tavoy dialect of the Burmese language, the word is pronounced Kiong.
8	Bahan: or Yahan:	An ordained monk	羅漢 (Lo-han)	Arhan	Bhikkha	

Chinese words in the Burmese Language—concluded.

Serial Number.	Burmese.	Meaning.	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	Pali.	Remarks.
9	Shan or Shio	A novice	上人 Shang-jên	Samasa	Samasa	Shang-jên or the superior men denotes, in Chinese, those who have renounced the world.
10	Kyam :	A canonical book	經 Ching	Sutra	Sutta	
11	Po	A palm-leaf	板 Pai	Tilapatra	Tilapata	The Sanskrit word <i>pala</i> became <i>poi-to-lo</i> in Chinese, which was shortened to <i>poi</i> .
12	Pu-di-l (pronounced Ha-di-l)	A rosary	菩提子 Pu-ti-tzu			Bodhi became <i>Pu-di</i> in Chinese; and <i>ta</i> means a seed.
13	Kantaw or Kadaw	To return thanks; to make obeisance	感到 Kan-tao	Pôja	Pôja	
14	Kye -sô :	To render assistance; to do a good turn	幫助 Kai-chu (in Northern Mandarin) and chih-tu (in Southern Mandarin)			
15	Hhi	To give in charity	賂 Lo	Dana	Dâna	
16	Shi k'ô :	To worship; to seek refuge in	恃靠 Shi-k'ao	Namah	Namo	

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

It is generally stated by those, who can speak with authority on the subject, that the Burmese derived their culture, religion, and letters from India through the Talaings, and that Burmese civilization dates from the conquest of Thatôn by Anawratazaw (Pāli Anuruddha) in 1057 A.D. This statement appears to be vitiated, to some extent, by the fact of the existence in the Burmese language of a number of Sanskrit words, both derived and naturalized, importing not only terms in religion and mythology, but also those relating to social life. The language of Māgadhā, in which the Tripitaka and its commentaries are written, being the language of their religion, one would naturally expect that the Burmese would borrow from Pālī rather than from Sanskrit. The appended list may, in some degree, serve to corroborate the above statement.

The following remarkable passage, extracted from the preface of Trenckner's edition of the *Mahāpāṇḍo*, will be of interest in the present connection, as showing the use by the Burmese of the Sanskrit, rather than the Pālī, spelling of certain Indian words :—

"It is however, but fair to add that, on closer acquaintance, certain spellings (found in Burmese MSS.) are met with, which strike our attention by agreeing closer with Sanskrit in etymology than the corresponding Sinhalese forms. Now the Burmese can scarcely be suspected of introducing Sanskritisms, and it is rather to be presumed that, in such cases, they have been the sole preservers of the true and original Pālī form."

BURMESE.				Sanskrit.	Pali.		
Spelling.		Pronunciation.					
1	Adhvan	...	Adun	...	Adhvan	...	Addhaniya.
2	Amrōk	...	Amraik	...	Amrita	...	Amata.
3	Bhissik	...	Be (k) thōk	...	Abhisheka	...	Abhiseka
4	Chakrā	...	Sakrā	...	Chakra	...	Chakka.
5	Chakravālā	...	Sakrāwālā	...	Chakravāla	...	Chakkavāla.

BURMESE.		Sanskrit.	Pali.
Spelling.	Pronunciation.		
6 Chakravatē : ...	Sakrawadē : ...	Chakravartin.	Chakkavatt.
7 Chankram ...	Sankran ...	Chankram ...	Chankama.
8 Drap ...	Dea (t) ...	Dravya ...	Dabba.
9 Groh ...	Gro ...	Groha ...	Gaha.
10 Kanubbā' ...	Kalā ...	Kalpa ...	Kappa.
11 Mrikkasā ...	Mri (k) katho ...	Mrigasira ...	Migesira.
12 Parissad ...	Pari (k) that ...	Parishal ...	Parisa.
13 Phosha ...	Pō (k) tha ...	Posha ...	Phussa.
14 Prakatā ...	Pragadē ...	Prakriti ...	Pakati.
15 Prasad ...	Fra (t) that ...	Prāsada ...	Pāsada.
16 Pittā ...	Pēktā ...	Prēta ...	Pōta.
17 Rasō ...	Rathē ...	Rishi ...	Iai.
18 Samudharā ...	Thamō (k) darā ...	Samudra ...	S-samudda.
19 Sāripettarā ...	Thāripō (k) tayā ...	Sāriputra ...	Sāriputta.
20 Sattavā ...	Thadawā ...	Sattva ...	Satta.
21 Sikkā : ...	Thagrā : ...	Sakra ...	Sakka.

(A REPLY).

I shall proceed to deal with Mr. Houghton's criticisms *seriatim*.

Mr. Houghton disagrees with me in thinking that any of the words given in my list relate to social life or are in common use. In refutation of his statement I may say that the following Sanskrit derivatives are in very common use among the Burmese; (7) *chankram* in the sense of walking about for exercise; (8) *drap* as a synonym for *gon* (Pāli *guna*), meaning primarily to be possessed of a certain status in society, and secondarily to be proud; (10) *kamblā*, a world or a cycle of existence; (12) *parissad*, an assembly or audience; a congregation of people meeting together for

purposes of religious devotion or festivity; (14) *prakate*, in *statu quo ante*, or in a state of nature; (15) *prassad*, a turret, or building with a number of roofs overtopping one another.

Adhvan.—Mr. Houghton says: "The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten." With all due deference, I must say again that this word is in very common use. When a Burman wishes to express the incalculable duration of his repeated existence before he can enter Nirvāna, he would always employ this word in connexion with *samsāra*. Again, in Burmese histories, as well as in conversation, the word is commonly employed to signify the long succession of kings subsequent to the reigning ruler.

Amrita.—The Sanskrit derivative is pronounced *amraik* or *amyaik*, as pointed out by Mr. Houghton. The substitution of *t* for *k*, in my former article, is, as admitted by the Editor, a misprint. The truth of Mr. Houghton's remark that "the application of the epithet *amraik* (*amrita*) to the Buddhist Nirvāna is obviously modern and needs no discussion here," can, I must confess, be hardly admitted by any scholar who knows anything of Pāli and Buddhism. There can be no doubt that North Indian influence is responsible for the transformation of the word, the various stages of which appear to be as follows: *amrita*=*amrit*=*amrôt*=*amrôk*, which, according to the Burmese system of phonetics would be pronounced *amraik*.

Abhisheka.—No doubt in the "corrected spelling" issued under the authority of the Text-book Committee of Burma, of which I was a member, the Sanskrit derivative *bhissik* was changed to *bhisik* on the advice of the native *sayds* or *pandits*, who were in the majority, and whose evident desire was to disclaim any relationship of Burmese with Sanskrit, and, in spite of ancient usage, to try and derive all Sanskrit derivatives from Pāli, the sacred language of the Southern School of Buddhism. I do not, at all, see how "the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being *i* and not *o* is a proof of its late introduction." In the first place, this statement is inconsistent with the assertion made in Mr. Houghton's first paragraph that "from very ancient times, indeed, the kings of Burma kept Brāhman astrologers at their courts for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates, and what not," (I suppose the vague "what not" would include the duty of performing the coronation ceremony of Burmese Kings.) In the second place, in dealing with Indo-Chinese languages,

which have borrowed their alphabet from India, it is hardly safe to base one's conclusion on the mere morphology of words. The genius of such languages is so different from either Sanskrit or Pāli that it would be much safer to take also into consideration the phonetic forms of such words. Although the derivative from Sanskrit, which we are now discussing, is written *bhissik* or *bhirik*, the combination *ik* is always pronounced *ek*, thus establishing its affinity to the vowel *e* in *abhishikha*.

Chakra.—I must again point out the very common use of the derivative from this Sanskrit word. The Pāli expression *dharmachakka* is always rendered into Burmese as *dharmachakra*, thus showing the partiality of the Burmese language for derivatives from Sanskrit and rebutting Mr. Houghton's contention:—"the former or Pāli word (*chakka*) was that originally used, and that the Sanskrit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar." One of the titles of the Burmese Kings was "the Lord of the *chakra* weapon (or disc);" and in common conversation the notion of a supernatural element is always conveyed by the word *chakra* in such expressions as *pat'a : chakra*, supernatural or flying chariots; *nā : chakra*, supernatural faculty of hearing.

Chakravalla.—The cosmogony of the Burmese is not derived "from the Brahman astrologers at the Court," but was introduced with Buddhism.

Chakravartin.—I cannot at all agree with Mr. Houghton's statement as to the manner of the introduction of the derivative from this word. No Burmese King has ever arrogated to himself such a title and the condemnation of the Burmese courtiers is hardly justifiable. Nor can I subscribe to his expression the "old speakers of Pāli."

Chankram.—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary (page 99), identifies the Pāli word *cankamo*, meaning "a covered walk, arcade, portico, cloister," with the Sanskrit *chankram*. The word *chankra* as meaning "walk (abstract and concrete)" is given at page 165 of Cappeller's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Dravya.—The exceedingly common use of the word *drap*, which is derived from *dravya*, has already been pointed out above.

Kalpa.—Mr. Houghton contends that, where a Pāli and a Sanskrit derivative having the same signification exist in Burmese, greater antiquity should be attached to the former. With all due deference to his scholarship, I would beg leave to

differ from this view. I would select only a few instances to show that this contention is not warranted by facts. The Pāli words *dharmacakka* and *Sāriputta* always assume in Burmese partially Sanskritic forms as *dharmacakrā* and *Sāriputtarā*. Again, in a Burmese inscription, dated 1198 A.D., which was found at Pagan, the word *Nirpan* occurs, which has a closer affinity to the Sanskrit *Nīreṇa* than to the Pāli *Nibbāna*; and the Pāli *Vissakamma* is always rendered in Burmese as *Visakrom* (Sanskrit *Viśtakarman*). How would Mr. Houghton explain this remarkable phenomenon? Could he explain it in any way other than by saying that the Sanskrit derivatives in the Burmese language are of more ancient date than the corresponding Pāli derivatives?

As regards the pronunciation of the conjunct consonant *l* as *amuscāra* in such words as *allāpa* and *sallāpa*, it is hardly justifiable to adopt the standard obtaining in Arakan, which is undoubtedly not nowadays a centre of native learning. Since the fall of Arakan in 1785 A. D., the capitals of Burma have been the seats of learning and the centres of literary activity for the whole of the Burmese Empire.

Mrigasiras and Pushya.—The point to which I would desire to draw attention in connexion with these words is that, in Burmese works, such as the translations of the *Jātakas*, preference is always shown to the employment of Sanskrit derivatives. If the Pāli derivatives were already in existence and were, therefore, better and more widely understood, how could we account for such a preference? Surely terms, which had attained some popular fixity, would have been employed in translating astrological works, which, according to Mr. Houghton, were a later importation.

Parissad.—In the revised Vocabulary of Burmese Spelling issued by the Text-book Committee, this word is, no doubt, as pointed out by Mr. Houghton, spelt *parisat*. At the sitting of the Committee, when the spelling of this word was discussed, the reason given by one of the *sayas* for the adoption of the form, as it now stands, was, that it was derived from *parisati*, which is but another form of *parisā + iti*. This was, no doubt, an attempt made with a vengeance to disclaim all connexion with Sanskrit. The word used to be spelt, until a few years ago, *parissad*, but the modern school of Burmese writers, who know nothing about the obligations of Burmese to Sanskrit, desire to eliminate all Sanskritic elements, which they do not understand and cannot appreciate. *Parishad*, in Sanskrit, means

"sitting around, an assembly, congregation." The corresponding Pāli form *pariṣā* is primarily employed in the Buddhistic sense of the various classes of the Buddha's disciples as monks, nuns, lay disciples, female devotees, etc. etc. (See Childers' Pāli Dictionary, page 346). Mr. Houghton's violent assumption that the original Sanskrit word means rather a council, as in a court, or an assembly of ministers, and that it was so first used by the Brahmans in the King's court, the use of the word becoming afterwards more generally extended, is scarcely warranted by the circumstances of the case. The supposition that the word was first introduced in a political, and not a religious, sense, and that it then permeated to the masses is not reasonably justified by the absence of means for the dissemination of ideas from a centre of political activity among the masses of the people, by the difficulty of communication and intercourse, and by the attitude of arrogance and indifference generally assumed by native rulers towards their subjects. There can be no doubt that the word *parissad* was introduced into Burma with the Buddhist Religion.

Prakṛiti.—My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Houghton for rectifying this error. The Sanskrit derivative is now being superseded by the Pāli derivative, for the reasons explained above.

Prāsāda.—Burmese architecture is, at present, almost a *terra incognita*; and it is hard to refute arguments in the shape of vague surmises.

Pratā.—See my remarks on *abhisheka* above. The derivative *prittā* is in very common use among the Burmese. That the Buddhistic sense of the word is at one with the Sanskrit sense is clearly shown at page 378 of Childers' Pāli Dictionary.

Rishi.—The derivative from this word is not now used as a title of respect when addressing Buddhist monks, the word now in use being *rahan*: (Pāli *araham*). The modern signification attached, in Burmese, to *rasse* is an anchorite, who is beyond the pale of the Order of Buddhist Monks. The imputation of pride and conceit to Burmese monks, as implied by Mr. Houghton's remarks, is, I think, uncalled for and unjustifiable. In spite of the high authority of Dr. Judson, who is, by the way, not an authority on Pāli or Sanskrit, the Pāli form *isi* of the word *rishi* is never found in Burmese as a naturalized word. In translating *isi*, its equivalent *rasse* is in variably used. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that Sanskrit and Pāli derivatives are by the Burmese sometimes coupled together as if the object is to explain one by the other:

kam kammā = kamma (Pāli + karman (Sanskrit);

kaṇ kambhā = kappā (Pāli) + kalpa (Sanskrit);

Ame : pucchā prassanā = Ame : (Burmese) + pucchā (Pāli) + prasnā (Sanskrit).

The above combinations are frequently met with in Burmese literature.

Samudra—In Burmese books, so far as I have read them, the word *samuddarā* is always used in a literal and not a metaphorical sense, in preference to the vernacular word *pinlā*. In Burmese poetry, the two words are sometimes found joined together. I should be glad to know the grounds of Mr. Houghton's statement:—"It was, therefore, probably introduced at a late period by some philosophical writer."

Sāriputra—The form *Sariputtarā* as well as that of *amraik* (Sanskrit *amrita*, Pāli *amata*) are found, in the *Paramigan*, the "Paradise Lost" of the Burmese. This work was compiled by Silavamsa, a learned monk of Taungdwingyi in the Magwe District of Upper Burma, in the latter half of the 15th Century A.D.

Sattva.—Here, again Mr. Houghton has been misled by Dr. Judson who says that *sattavā* means a 'rational being' in Burmese, which is not a complete definition. The sense in which this word is used in Sanskrit, Pāli and Burmese is nearly identical. In Burmese we speak of *lā sattavā*, mankind, *kōn : sattavā*, animals of the land, *yo sattavā*, fishes of the sea. Mr. Houghton's explanation about the possible confusion of the two Pāli words *sattā*, a "being, creature, animal, sentient being, man," and *satta*, seven, is highly ingenious, but cannot bear any criticism, because surely when a Burman with some knowledge of Pāli reads a book in that language, he would have common sense enough to construe according to the context, and not take the meaning of each detached word without any reference to the other words in the same sentence. Mr. Houghton says:—"It seems probable that the Sanskrit form of this word (which is mainly used in philosophical works) was adopted in Burmese....." This Sanskrit derivative occurs as *sattavā*, in an ancient inscription of Pagan, dated 585 B.E. (1223 A.D.).

Here again, we have an instance where the word is derived from the Sanskrit *sattavā*, and not from the Pāli *satta*.

Sakra—Mr. Houghton accuses me of allowing my religious zeal to overstep my discretion in giving "this personage" the title of the "Recording Angel of Buddhism." "A very little

enquiry would have shown him" that Childers makes use of this very title in his Dictionary (page 419), and that the Burmese notions regarding this god are more in conformity with Buddhist than with Hindu ideas.

The point at issue, therefore, between Mr. Houghton and myself is whether Sanskrit or Pāli derivatives were first introduced into the Burmese language. His remarks appear to show that he is in favour of the theory which accords priority to the latter class of derivatives. I venture to hold the opposite view and to base my conclusion on the following statements of fact:—

In the Buddhist literature of the Burmese we meet with the remarkable phenomenon of translating Pāli words by means of Sanskrit derivatives; e.g.

Pāli word.		Sanskrit derivative.		Original form of the derivative in Sanskrit.
Amata	...	Amraik	...	Amrita.
Dhammachakka	...	Dharmachakrā	...	Dharmachakra.
Kamma	...	Kamma	...	Karma.
Sakka	...	Sikrā :	...	Sakra.
Samudda	...	Samuddarā	...	Samudra.
Sangaha	...	Sangroh	...	Sangraha.
Sāriputta	...	Sāriputtarā	...	Sāriputra.
Satta	...	Sattivā	...	Sattva.
Visakamma	...	Visakrām	...	Viśvakarma.

Again, in the ancient inscriptions of Pagan dating from the 12th century we meet with the Sanskrit form of invocation *Sri Namō Buddhāya* instead of the customary Pāli form *Namō Tassa Bhagavatō Arahātō Sammāsambuddhassa*. Also in some inscriptions, as the Po-u: daung Inscription, traces of the influence of the *Mahāyāna*, or Northern School of Buddhism, still exist in the expression of the wish of the donor to attain Buddhahood, and not Arahatsip (see Hibbert Lectures, 1881, pp. 254-55). Lastly, that Sanskrit studies were much cultivated among the Burmese in ancient times is clearly proved by the Tet-hnwègyaung Inscription at Pagan, dat d 804 B.E. or 1442 A.D. which records a list not only of works belonging to the Buddhist Canon, but also of medical, astrological, grammatical and poetical works translated from the Sanskrit language.

These facts appear to indicate—

- (i) that the form of Buddhism first introduced into Burma proper was that of the *Mahāyāna* or Northern School;
- (ii) that the Buddhist scriptures, when first introduced, were written in Sanskrit, which is the language of the Northern School;
- (iii) that the Southern School or *Hīnayāna*, the language of whose scriptures is Pāli, subsequently absorbed and assimilated by its stronger vitality, the Northern School, which, through the cessation of intercourse with Northern India, had fallen into corruption and decay.

These inferences are further supported by the evolution of the Burmese pagoda, in which are combined the *stūpa* type of Northern India and the *chaitya* type of Ceylon.

I am glad that my short note on the existence of Sanskrit derivatives in the Burmese language has been criticised by Mr. Houghton. The controversy will, I hope, excite some interest in the subject. At present there is a lamentable dearth of scholars in Burma, and Burmese history, Burmese literature, and Burmese antiquities are fields in which the labourers are exceedingly few, though the harvest should be plentiful and rich.

CHAPTER III.—HISTORY.

BURMA AND THE THIRD BUDDHIST COUNCIL.

The following is the list, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, of the countries to which missionaries were sent at the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council:—

<i>Name of country.</i>	<i>Name of Missionary sent.</i>
(1) Kasmīra-Gandhāra	... Majjhantikathera.
(2) Mahisamandala	... Mahādevathera.
(3) Vanavāsi	... Rakkhitathera,
(4) Aparantaka	... Yona-Dhammarakkhitathera.
(5) Mahāratta	... Mahādhammarakkhitathera.
(6) Yona	... Mahārakkhitathera.
(7) Himavanta	... Majjhimathera.
(8) Suvannabhūmi	... Sonathera and Uttarathera.
(9) Lankādīpa	... Mahāmahindathera.

The following extract from *The Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess, page 17, will be of value here, as indicating the identification of the countries named in the above list:

“After a great Council of the Buddhist Priesthood, held in the 17th year of his (Asoka's) reign, 246 B. C., missionaries were sent out to propagate the religion in the ten following countries, whose position we are able, even now, to ascertain with very tolerable precision from their existing denomination:—

- (1) Kasmīra ;
- (2) Gandhāra (or Kandahar) ;
- (3) Mahisamandala (or Maisur) ;
- (4) Vanavāsi (in Kanara) ;
- (5) Aparāntaka-‘the Western Country,’ or the Koṅkan—the missionary being Yavana-Dharmarakshita ; the prefix Yavana apparently indicative of his being a Greek, or foreigner at least ;

- (6) Mahārattha (or the Dakhan);
- (7) The Yavana country (perhaps Baktria);
- (8) Himavanta (or Nepal);
- (9) Suvarṇabhūmi (or Burma); and
- (10) Ceylon.

His own son, Mahendra, and daughter, Sanghamitra, were sent with the mission to Ceylon, taking with them a graft of the Bodhi tree at Buddha Gaya, under which Buddha was supposed to have attained the supreme knowledge."

The native writers of Burma, however, both lay and clerical, aver with great seriousness that the Aparantaka referred to is Burma proper, which comprises the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, that Yona is the Shan country about Chiengmai (Zimmé), that the scenes of the *Milinda Pañhā* were laid in that State, and that, with the exception of Himavanta, which, they say, comprises five countries subject to China, of Suvarṇabhūmi and Lankādīpa, the remaining countries mentioned are situated in India. Such a flagrantly erroneous identification of classical names has arisen from the national arrogance of the Burmans, who, after their conquest of the Talaing kingdoms on the seaboard, proceeded to invent new stories and new classical names so that they might not be outdone by the Talaings, who, according to their own history and traditions, received the Buddhist religion direct from missionaries from India. The right bank of the Irrawaddy river near Pagan was accordingly re-named Sunāparanta, and was identified with the Aparantaka mentioned in the above list. This is but one of the many instances of the fanciful theories of the native historians, and indicates the extreme care and judicious discrimination that is required in utilizing their writings in the compilation of a history of their country.

A similar idiosyncrasy on the part of Cambodian writers was noticed by Mouhot, who says in his *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China* (Vol. II, pp. 8 and 9): "All traditions being lost, the natives invent new ones, according to the measure of their capacity."

SUVARNABHŪMI: ITS IDENTIFICATION.

(a)

"The Golden Khersonese denotes usually the Malay Peninsula but more specially the delta of the Irrawaddy, which forms the province of Pegu, the Suvarṇabhūmi (Pāli from

Suvannabhūmi) of ancient times. The Golden Region, which lies beyond the interior, is Burma, the oldest province of which, above Ava, is still as Yule informs us, formally styled in State documents Sonaparanta, i.e. Golden Frontier."—McCrindle's *Ancient India described by Ptolemy*, p. 198.

(b)

"Why these lands should have been termed the lands of silver and gold (Argentea Regio, Aurea Regio, Chersonesus Aurea) may appear obscure, as they are not now remarkably productive of those metals. There are, however, gold washings on a small scale in many of the rivulets both of Pegu and of the valley of the Upper Irrawadi and of the Kyendwen (Chindwin), which may have been more productive in ancient times. And the Argentea Regio may probably (as suggested by Colonel Hannay) have been the territory including the Bou Dwen (Bawdwin, really a part of the Shan States), or great silver mine on the Chinese frontier, which is believed to supply a large part of the currency of Burma. Indeed, Aurea Regio may be only a translation of the name Sonaparanta, which is a classic or sacred appellation of the central region of Burma, near the junction of the Irrawadi and the Kyendwen, always used to this day in the enumeration of the king's titles. These regions, may, moreover, have been the channels by which the precious metals were brought from China and the mountains near the source of the Irrawadi, which are said to be very productive of gold; and possibly, even at that remote period, the profuse use of gilding in edifices may have characterized the people, as it does now.

"It seems, however, most probable that this practice was introduced with Buddhism. Yet even at the period of the first Buddhist mission to this region, at the conclusion of the third great Synod, B. C. 241, it was known in India as Suvannabhūmi, the Golden Land.

"According to Mr. Mason, the ancient capital of the Talangs, (according to the tradition of the latter), was Thadaung, or Satung, a city whose traces still exist between the mouths of the Salween and the Sittang. "Suvanna-bumme," he adds, but unfortunately stating no authority, is still the classic Pali name of Sataung (meaning thereby? Thaton)" —Yule's *Mission to Ava*, page 206.

(c)

"Sono and Uttaro were deputed to Suvannabhūmi, or Golden

Land. As this country was on the sea-coast, it may be identified either with Ava, the Aurea Regio, or with Siam, the Aurea Chersonesus. Six millions of people are said to have been converted, of whom twenty-five thousand men became monks, and fifteen hundred women became nuns"—Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, page 118.

(d)

"The identity of the Khryse of Ptolemy, of the Suvar-nabhūmi of the Buddhist legends, and of the city of Thahton (Thaton) in Pegu, all having the same signification, appears nearly certain"—Phayre's *History of Burma*, page 26.

(e)

"Suvannabhūmi is the only geographical name, which occurs in the *Dīpavamsa*, the *Mahāvamsa*, and the *Samantapāsādikā* in connection with the Buddhist mission to that country. Lassen identifies Suvannabhūmi with the present Pegu or the delta of the Irrawaddy; Colonel Yule applies the name to a promontory or place on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban; and other writers hold that it means Burma in general or the large islands of the Straits (Settlements). In modern Burmese works, Suvannabhūmi is used as the classical designation of British and Upper Burma. Captain Forbes, in his *Indo-Chinese Languages*, has already forcibly pointed out, and his statement is corroborated by geological evidences and the native records, that the extensive plains south of the Pegu Yoma and what are now the Irrawaddy and Sittang valleys were covered by the sea till a few centuries after Christ. Even Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the 7th century A D., places Prome near a sea harbour. Burmese historians date the retreating of the ocean from Prome from a terrible earthquake, which took place in the fifth century before Christ. The corrosion of the sea water is still clearly traceable on the numerous boulders which line the base of the hills stretching, now far inland, from Shwegyin to Martaban. Cables and ropes of sea-going vessels have been dug up near Ayetthēma, the ancient Takkala, now distant 12 miles from the sea-shore, and but lately remains of foreign ships have been found near Twante buried eight feet beneath the surface of the earth." Forchhammer's *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma II.—The First Buddhist Mission to Suvannabhūmi*, page 3.

(f)

The following extract from the preface to Colquhoun's *Across Chryse* is from the pen of the late Sir Henry Yule :

" Chryse is a literal version of the Sanskrit Suvannabhūmi or Golden Land, applied in ancient India to the Indo-Chinese regions. Of course, where there is no accurate knowledge the application of the term must be vague.

" It would be difficult to define where Ptolemy's Chryse (Chryse Chora aut Chryse Chersonesus) terminated eastward, though he appears to give the names a special application to what we call Burma and Pegu. But Ptolemy, from the nature of his work, which consisted in drawing such maps as he could, and then tabulating the positions from those maps, as if he possessed most accurate data for all, necessarily defined things far beyond what his real materials justified. If we look to the author of the *Periplus*, who has no call to effect impossible precision, we find that Chryse is the last continental region towards the East. North of it indeed, and farther off, is Thina i. e. China.

" Chryse then, in the vague apprehension of the ancients—the only appropriate apprehension, where knowledge was so indefinite,—was the region coasted between India and China. It is most correctly rendered by ' Indo-China.' "

(g)

The above extracts show that the precise identification of the country known as Suvannabhūmi to the ancients is one of the vexed questions of the early geography of the Far East. All Burmese and Talaing writers, however, agree in applying the designation to Thatôn, which was formerly a sea-port town, and they assert that the *raison d'être* of the name is that auriferous ore was found in the tract of the country in which Thatôn is situated.

Like the term Rāmaññadesa, the appellation Suvannabhūmi appears to have been originally applied to the basin of the Sittang and the Salween rivers, which are noted for gold-washing on their upper reaches. " Gold is certainly found in most of the affluents of the Shwegyin (Gold-washing) river, and has been more than once worked, but the quantity obtained is so small as not to repay the labour. This river and the mountains at its source have been examined by Mr. Theobald of the Geological Survey and by a practical miner, and the

reports of both point generally to the same conclusions. Mr. Theobald stated "that the section of the auriferous beds corresponds very closely with that given by Sir R. Murchison, in his *Siluria* of the Russian gold deposits . . . From the occurrence of coarse grains in the Shuaygheen (Shwegyin) gravels, I should infer the occurrence of the metal *in situ* in some of the rocks towards the sources of the streams falling into the Sittang (Sittaung), especially the Matuma (Muttama) . . . From the marked scarcity of quartz pebbles at the gold washings, I am inclined to believe that quartz is not the matrix, or not the sole matrix, certainly of the Shuaygheen gold."†

Gold-washing in the Sittang valley was a remunerative industry in ancient times; but as, in course of time, gold could not be worked in paying quantities, the energies of the people were diverted to other channels, and evidently to commerce. Still the glamour of the name remained, and its currency was maintained by the fact of the Sittang valley containing seaport towns, namely, Golamattika or Takkala, and subsequently Thaton itself, which were great emporia of trade between India and the Far East till the Middle Ages.

In the Kalyāni Inscription, Suvannabhūmi is identified with Rāmaññadesa. This identification appears to rest on plausible grounds, as gold-washing is still carried on in most of the districts comprising the ancient Talaing Kingdom of Rāmaññadesa. Gold is still worked at Desampā in the Pegu district, on the banks of most of the streams in the Shwegyin district, at Mēwaing in the Bilin township, and at the headwaters of the Tenasserim river. At Thaton, auriferous sands occur in the Shwegyaung San close to the site of the palace of Manuhā, the Talaing king, who was conquered and led away captive to Pagan by Anawratazaw in the 11th century.†

THE HLUTTAW OR THE BURMESE SUPREME COUNCIL.

THIS IS THE NAME of the Supreme Council of the *ex-king* of Upper Burma, which took cognizance of matters religious,

† *British Burmah Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 649.

political, revenue, and judicial. It sat for about six hours every day, from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m.; and again from noon to 3 p.m.; and its sitting was attended by Mingyis, Wundauks, and Sayegyis (Head Clerks), the Atwin Wuns sitting in the Byèdaik in the Palace. The general rule was that there should be four Mingyis, four Atwin Wuns, and four Wundauks; but in Thibaw's reign, (1878-1885) there were three Mingyis, six Atwin Wuns, and 16 Wundauks. The Mingyis were:—

the Kinwun Mingyi,
the Taunggwin Mingyi, and
the Taingda Mingyi.

The Kinwun Mingyi rose from a common *Wun* to the post of Prime Minister in Thibaw's reign. He was a very strict and upright man, energetic, and attentive to his duties. He was an *ex-monk*, and was a good judge and a great classical scholar. He was a widower and a strict monogamist. Mandalay Burmans spoke very highly of his private life and official conduct. It seems he took no bribes and did not believe in having a plurality of wives. Under Thibaw he was Commander-in-Chief and was created a Mingyi-thettawshe (*i.e.*, one who could not be killed by the King). That was, indeed, a high distinction, well merited on account of his wisdom, ability, loyalty, and unimpeachable conduct. But through the instrumentality of Queen Supayalat, his power and influence were greatly eclipsed by those of the Taingda. If rumour was to be credited, it appears that, on the eve of the last war, when the Kinwun Mingyi persistently refused to vote for going to war against the British, the *ex-King* said to him: "Popo (grand father), you may wear a *tamein* (a lady's skirt), and take a *kyaukpyin* (a circular piece of stone on which Burmese ladies make their cosmetic called *thanaka*)."

The Kinwun Mingyi had been twice to England as ambassador. He had seen the extent of British power, and was thoroughly convinced of the insignificance of the "Lord of the Rising Sun."

We have not much to speak of the Taunggwin Mingyi. In Mindôn's reign, he was the Shwedaik Atwin Wun or Financial Minister. He was not a man of erudition and scholarly habits like the Kinwun Mingyi. But he was a practical man and was a good hand at accounts. During the British occupation of Mandalay, and when the Kinwun Mingyi was absent at Rangoon with the *ex-King*, the Taunggwin Mingyi rallied the Burmese officials to help Colonel E. B. Sladen. It is said that

he was a man of great wealth and influence. As regards the third Mingyi, during Mindôn's time he was the Taungdawè Bo (a Captain in the Palace) holding his post in trust for his grandson, whose father had been killed by a rocket at a *pôngyi's* cremation at Amarapura. When Thibaw came to the throne, his tact and usefulness won for him the post of Atwin Wun. He was very sharp in finding out which way the wind blew. He was the Queen's man in the same sense as Yanaung or the Hlethin was the King's man. The Taingda rose rapidly in the Queen's favour. He knew the weak side of a wife in not desiring her lord and husband to be other than a monogamist, and he was instrumental in bringing about the downfall and compassing the ruin of Yanaung and his party for having secured a lesser wife for the King. Besides, the Taingda ministered to the supersition of Supayalat by procuring astrologers, medical doctors, and charm doctors for her.

In proportion to the height of favour in which he stood in the Palace the Taingda's influence increased at the Hluttaw and on the populace. He came to be recognized as the leading Minister. Merchants, who wanted the King to discharge his royal debts, judgment-debtors, wishing to evade their decree, dacoits condemned to death, all flocked to him praying for help. Of course, Burman-like, he took his *douceurs* and did what he could to get his influence and persuasion to bear on the King as well as on his colleagues at the Hluttaw. In 1245 (1883), robberies and dacoities became frightfully rampant and the Upper Burmans connected these disturbances with the Taingda. One Burman Magistrate is reported to have told the King that dacoits were hidden behind a *taing* (post), a quibble on the word Taingda.

The Taingda Mingyi entertained a strong animosity against the English; and, just before the war broke out, he was ever consulting his astrologers as to when he was to go in state to Rangoon to reign there as Viceroy.

The other members of the Hluttaw need no remark as they had no voice in its deliberations.

Strictly speaking, though the Hluttaw was the highest Court of Judicature, and the highest administrative body, its influence beyond Mandalay was not so great as was generally supposed. As a rule, the provincial governors did what they liked; they could sentence criminals to death, assess revenue at their own rates, and decide civil suits according to their idiosyncrasies or in conformity with the provisions of certain *dhammathats*, of which there is a great number. In short, the

provincial governors were not in any way responsible to the Hluttaw, except that they must remit a certain sum of money to the Royal Treasury through that body. No doubt, disputes between governors regarding the limit of their jurisdictions, the delivery of dacoits by one governor to another, and appeal cases, generally civil, were brought up before the Hluttaw. But beyond exercising this general control, which was rather faint, and exercising the functions of the Highest Court of Reference, the Hluttaw was an effete body, corrupt to the core.

THE UPPER BURMAN VIEW OF BRITISH RULE.

THE New Year's Day of 1886 apprised us of the fact that an important portion of Indo-China had become part and parcel of the British Empire over which the sun never sets. From a commercial point of view, this tract of land is, indeed, important, serving, as it does, a sort of connecting link between India and the teeming millions of China. The land is fertile, the people are docile, and every hope is to be entertained for the realization of projects to improve the country and ameliorate the condition of its inhabitants. With the magnificent water-way afforded by the Irrawaddy, and with the Toungoo-Mandalay Railway constructed before a decade has passed away, we have reason to expect that Upper Burma will be on a fair way to progress in the wake of her sister province. Let us now see how the bulk of the Burmans look upon their loss of a national king, the grievances, supposed or actual, they are suffering from, and what remedies can be suggested for their removal.

Shortly after the recent war of 1885, we availed ourselves of an opportunity to travel to Mandalay. We visited some respectable families with the intention of sounding their feelings regarding the British annexation. Taking all in all, the people seem to be pretty well affected towards British rule. When asked to give reasons, they say that the British Government is strict, upright and sympathetic. There is one fact to the truth of which all bear testimony. The British are earnest and truthful; their 'yes' is a 'yes' and their 'no' a 'no.' In this respect, the British Government presents a wide contrast to the late Government of Thibaw. An old Burmese lady tells us that, when he was on the throne, there was a regular confusion of authority. In the first instance, the Hluttaw would pass a certain decree. On appeal, through the Taingda or

Yanaung, this decree would be upset by the King, but only to be upheld by the Chief Queen. But now, she adds, people can rely on the word of their new Government.

There is, however, a class of people in Mandalay, who are against the new order of things. They form a sort of an official class out of employ. They have been hitherto feeding on the fat of the land, oppressing the people, and defrauding the King of his revenues, and when they find the royal bounty so suddenly withdrawn they might naturally be expected to be disaffected. Nevertheless, the objections they raise against the introduction of British rule savour of some reasonableness. They urge that, when they have no king of their own, Buddhism will decline for want of State support, and that schisms will spring up to undermine it, that taxation will be rendered heavier, and that Burmans will be driven to the wall in their competition with foreigners.

We should say that there is some truth in these remarks. The Burmans, for generations past, have been accustomed to see support given by their kings to the Buddhist priesthood. The priests were clothed and fed at the public expense, and every encouragement was given to promote the study of the Buddhist scriptures and foster the religion generally. There used to be Archbishops and Ecclesiastical Councils to decide disputes among the priesthood, and to punish or expel refractory brothers. And Burmans are afraid lest such an order of things should pass away.

Undoubtedly, the Burmans feel the heavy taxation, and they also feel that they cannot compete with foreigners in the battle of life. As a rule, they are a jolly, mirth-loving race, well-deserving the *sobriquet* of the 'Irish of the East.' 'Let the morrow take care of itself' seems to be their guiding motto in life. Look at Rangoon, where the Burmans are gradually being ousted from the town by foreigners; they are weak in the struggle for existence. To assign a reason for this we shall have not to go far. They are an open-handed people, who invest their money in brilliant dresses, jewellery, or in storing up merit by building *kyaungs*, *sayats*, *pagodas*, bridges, etc.

CAUSES OF DACOITIES IN UPPER BURMA (1886).

FOR some time past, we have been trying to find out the

causes of dacoities in Upper Burma, and we are told that they can be traced to:—

- (1) a desire on the part of Burmans to have a national king;
- (2) a desire to prevent the decline and fall of the Buddhist religion;
- (3) a foreboding that, as a conquered race, the Burmans will receive ill-treatment at the hands of the British;
- (4) the fomenting of rebellion and dacoity by *póngyis*;
- (5) the presence of certain princes of the Blood Royal.

1. In every man's breast, there exists a sentiment which takes a pride in having a national king; and history repeats itself everywhere in illustration of this fact. The national king may be a weak, incompetent prince, nevertheless the people will remain firm and faithful to him; and the more especially will they be to him, when he is like the *ex*-King Thibaw, a ruler, who, though hen-pecked and hand-bound, was like one of the later Roman emperors in giving largesses and entertainments to the people.

This desire for a national king exists strongest among the officials now out of employ. Under the late *régime*, the whole of the city proper of Mandalay was inhabited by the officials of the king. Each of them had a numerous retinue, and each attendant had numerous sub-attendants. And the same system of entertaining a great number of persons on all establishments, private and public, obtained in the Palace. It has been computed that from three to four thousand persons were entertained in the Palace alone when the British came; and all of them holding sinecure posts together with their numerous hangers-on became bereft of their sole source of sustenance. They become helpless; they abhor manual work; they have no backbone in them to persevere in any kind of undertaking; most of them are weak through debauchery and vice; so they just shoulder their *da* and march off to join dacoit bands.

The public works, which have been opened, may do something to prevent the lower classes from turning dacoits.

2. It seems that, ever since the days of Asoka, the Buddhist Church has been receiving State aid, and that, in its spiritual dealings, it has always been assisted by the secular arm. When a brother proved refractory, he was made over to the

Ecclesiastical Censor ; when a dispute arose among the *pôngyis* the disputants were referred to Ecclesiastical Councils. Besides, the priests received liberal support not only from the King and the ministers, but also from the Queens, Princes and Princesses. The Burmans are afraid lest this order of things should pass away.

3. A priest once said to us after the British occupation of Mandalay : " Now that the English have got the whole of Burma, don't imagine that they will treat the Burmans as they have been treating the Lower Burmans. When two puppet-shows are going on, one tries its utmost to excel the other."

4. The *pôngyis* are having more than a hand in all these rebellions and dacoities that have been committed and are still going on. As a literary class, and as the custodians of the Buddhist faith, they have a good hold on the people ; and they labour under an apprehension that they will lose this hold. Very many of them are at work in trying to undermine British power by indirect means. Some go on errands in persuading people to believe that a Burman prince is sure to reign again, while others go about preaching a crusade against the English. We trust that every conciliatory measure will be adopted to gain the goodwill of the *pôngyis* and enlist their sympathy on the side of the British Government.

5. When the British troops occupied the Mandalay Palace, a number of young princes (whose ages range from 14 to 25) were found in a *kyaung* situated on the north-eastern side of the palace enclosure. Among them were Myinzaing, a boy of about 14, the son of King Mindon, and some 4 sons of the Einshemin or Heir Apparent. All these princes were unfortunately let off. Had they been kept in custody and deported somewhere, the country might have been spared some bloodshed.

There is always a halo surrounding the name of a prince, and the effect is heightened when the country has passed into foreign hands.

Three princes are recognized by the people : Linbin at Monè, Myinzaing at Natteik, and Maung Hmat somewhere near Myadaung. Of them, Myinzaing is a personage of great political significance. *Pôngyis*, astrologers, and ignorant Burmans believe that, according to national prophecies, 15 kings of the House of Alaungpaya must rule over Burma. There have ruled 11 kings, and 4 are coming. Myinzaing is one of them as his personal appearance, his intelligence, his birth, his horoscope,

and even the stars prognosticate his future and predestined kingship. At all costs these princes should be captured or induced to surrender themselves. Their presence is dangerous to British prestige in the country.

In conclusion, we must not forget to mention about a class of dacoits who carry on their operations on their own responsibility and of their own free will. They care only for plunder and robbery, and the way they treat men, women and children of their own race, does not speak much for the kind of patriotism kindling in their breast.

CHAPTER IV.—ARCHÆOLOGY.

BURMESE ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE archaeological buildings of Burma form a distinct group by themselves. Mostly constructed of wood or of brick and mortar, they bear strange marks of hybridization, and the problem for solution appears to be to establish a relationship between their architecture and that of analogous structures in the adjacent countries of Tibet, China, Cambodia, Java, Ceylon, the Dekkhan, and Northern India. There can be no doubt that an active missionary propaganda was pursued in Burma by the powerful Buddhist dynasties of India and China, and that whenever there was religious persecution elsewhere, Burma afforded a safe asylum to all religionists, whether they were Buddhists, Jains, or Hindus. Burmese architecture being mainly the expression of the religious sense, these refugees from different countries holding different ideals would contribute towards its development.

Up to the present time, attention has been chiefly devoted to the conservation of the Palace buildings at Mandalay and to the notable Pagodas of Pagan of which it has been decided to maintain 35 at the public expense. The former are built of wood, which lends itself to the quaint artistic genius of the Burmese people. The tall pyramidal spires, the multiple roofs, the flamboyant ornaments, the brilliant mosaic work, and above all, the rich gilding, which flashes gorgeously in the sunlight, have been handed down for long generations; and for all we know, these might have formed the chief features of the Palaces of Asoka and his successors, of which we have but a faint glimpse from the records of the early Greek writers.

All conceivable forms of Burmese architecture are found at Pagan. The architectural energy of the Burmese kings lasted for about a thousand years, that is, from the 3rd to the 13th century A. D., and was most active from the 11th to the 13th centuries, owing to the impulse given to it by Anawrata, after his conquest of the Talaing kingdom of Thatôn. The oldest of the shrines appears to be the Ngakywènaung, a tuber-shaped pagoda of no pretentious dimensions, built

of green enamelled bricks, and crowned with what looks like a small domed chapel, thereby bespeaking its Chinese origin. The Singhalese influence is reflected in the Sapada Pagoda, which was built, in the 12th century A. D., by Sapada, a native of Bassein, who was ordained a Buddhist monk in Ceylon, and who founded a sect at Pagan. Architects from the Dekkhan were evidently employed in the construction of the temples erected in the 11th century A. D. by Manuha, the captive king of the Talaings, and Kyanzittha, the reputed son of Anawrata. The pose and contour of the images of the Buddha and of the figures sculptured on stone are distinctly South-Indian, and the structures, like the Nagayôn and the Ananda, are square edifices with *Mandapas* or porches, and are provided with vaulted chambers and corridor passages, into which a subdued light gleams from above. The most interesting class of buildings, which would repay a careful study, is, however, that to which the Shwesandaw and Shwezigôn belong. They are solid domes with sharp pinnacles, in which the types of the Indian *stûpa*, of the Singhalese Dagoba, of the Chinese Pagoda, and probably of other cognate structures elsewhere, are found combined. There are also cave temples, built against the precipitous sides of ravines or hollowed out of sand dunes, of which the Kyaukku is the prototype. They were intended to be a combined residence and temple, and served their purpose well in the torrid climate of Pagan. At Mandalay, the restoration of some of the buildings, especially the pavilions on the walls of Fort Dufferin, have been successfully executed; but at Pagan, only conservation has been attempted.

The compilation of the Provincial list of monuments has been completed. A selection has been made of such buildings as would reflect the history and religion of the Burmese people, and steps have been taken for their preservation either by—

- (i) maintenance by the Public Works Department at Government expense;
- (ii) protection under the ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904;
- (iii) the formation of Trusts under section 539 of the Code of Civil Procedure;
- (iv) the informal appointment of Trustees by Deputy Commissioners, on the nomination of village elders, in the case of monuments, which, though possessing an archaeological interest, do not possess funds or landed property.

Since 1884, Trust Schemes have been sanctioned by the District Courts in respect of the principal Pagodas of Rangoon, Bassein, Henzada, Prome, Pegu, Moulmein, Mandalay, Kyaukse, Pagan, and Minbu, and according to circumstances, Trustees will be appointed to additional shrines.

In Burma, in conserving ancient monuments, the pleasing factor, which strengthens the hands of Government, has always been the hearty co-operation of the people themselves, who are ready to help on the progress of the works with advice, money or labour. The policy inaugurated by Lord Curzon in respect of the Burmese monuments has doubtless increased, more than a hundredfold, the loyalty of the people towards the British Government, which has now, in their eyes, accepted the responsibilities assumed by their own kings.

CHINESE ANTIQUITIES AT PAGAN.

THE Mongol conquest of Pagan, in 1284 A. D., forms an interesting episode in Burmese history, and is related at length in Phayre's *History of Burma*, Yule's *Marco Polo*, Volume II, and Parker's *Burma: her Relations with China*. There is a striking general agreement, both as regards facts and dates, between the Chinese annals and the Burmese chronicles, and the harmony would be complete if the scene of the pitched battle was fixed at Yungchang, the Vochan of Marco Polo, and the Nga-tsaunggyan of the Burmese writers. The intercourse thus forcibly opened up between China and Burma was undoubtedly followed by an active Buddhist propaganda, for it is well known that the Mongols under Kublai Khan favoured Buddhism and appointed an Archbishop of the Buddhist Church. Judging by the architecture of the Nga-Kywè-Nadaung and the Seinnyet Pagoda, there is, however, ample evidence to indicate that Buddhist influences from China affected Pagan even before the Mongol conquest. The image Milo Fo or Maitreya, the Messiah of the Buddhists, who is represented as an obese Chinaman with a protuberant belly and smiling features, is often met with. The figure of Omito Fo or Amitābha has also been discovered. Omito Fo is the favourite of the Chinese Buddhists, and is also known as Wu-liang-shou-Fo, the Buddha of boundless light, whose paradise in the west is Sukhāvati. Two other exhibits in the Pagan Museum deserve more than a passing notice, namely, an exquisitely wrought bronze image of Chin-Kang-shou, the Vajrapāṇi of Chinese

Buddhism, and the bronze drum, which the Burmans call "Pā-zi" or "Frog drum" while the Chinese call it "Chu-Ko-Kū," or the war-drum of the celebrated Chinese warrior, Chu-ko-liang, or K'u-k'ung-ming, who carried his arms, in 220-230 A. D., as far as Yung-ch'ang, which then formed the frontier between Burma and China. One of the mementoes of the Mongol invasion of the 13th century is a bilingual inscription in Chinese and Mongol. Only a few Chinese characters are legible, and the stone appears to have been set up in order to afford irrefutable evidence, in after times, that the Pagan Monarchy had been reduced to the status of a tributary State to the Chinese Empire. The Mongol forces, aided, no doubt, by Chinese and Shan auxiliaries, converged on Chiang-t'ou (Kaungton) on the Irrawaddy, which is below Bhamo, and after sacking T'ai-Kung (Tagaung), proceeded, by land and water, to Pagan, like an irresistible avalanche, crushing down everything on their onward march. The invasion was, indeed, a cataclysm and served as a great nervous shock paralyzing all initiative, stimulus and enterprise, and the Burmans had not quite recovered from it in 1886, when what remained of their independent kingdom was absorbed in the British Indian Empire.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AT PAGAN.

HIS Honour the Lieutenant-Governor arrived at Pagan at noon on Friday, the 29th July 1910. He was accompanied by Lady Adamson, Mrs. Barr, the Hon'ble Mr. W. F. Rice, C.S.I., Chief Secretary, Major Barry, I.M.S., Captain Caldecott, Private Secretary, and Captain Lentaigne, A. D. C. A landing stage surmounted by a *pyatthat* had been improvised for the occasion, and before the Governor's barge *Shwelaung*, which was towed by the R.I.M.S. *Sladen* (Commander De Burgh), drew up at it, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, and Lieutenant Wilcocks, Burma Military Police, boarded her, and met Sir Harvey and Lady Adamson. As the Government House Party had arranged to stay at Pagan till the morning of Sunday, the 31st July, a rough programme was drawn up for the various excursions, in consultation with the Private Secretary. At 5 p.m. the same evening, His Honour and Party landed, and walked up to the Mahābodhi Pagoda, which was built by King Nandaungmya in 1198 A.D., after the model of the celebrated Temple of

Bodh-Gaya in Bengal. Thence a move was made to a gorgeous pandal, where an *anyein* dance, with suitable music, was provided by the girls of the village. Here, Maung Tin, A.T.M., Subdivisional Officer, Pagan, presented to His Honour Maung Saing, Myoök of Pagan, Maung Po Chit, Myoök of Kyaukpadaung, and Maung So Maung, Myoök of Sale, and the Village Headmen of these three Townships, some of whom carried silver mounted *das*, the rewards of their good services rendered to the British Government. Some little time was spent in the Pagan Museum, which was stocked with objects of great interest to the historian and the antiquarian. His Honour's attention was invited to the four inscriptions in the Talaing character, which are said to be brought away from Thaton in the 11th century A.D., to a bilingual record (in Chinese and Mongol) of the 13th century A.D., which was set up after the Chinese invasion of Pagan by the Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan (*vide* Vol. II of *Marco Polo*), and to a quadrilingual epigraph (in Pali, Burmese, Talaing, and in a language, yet unidentified, but supposed to be Pyu), which bears date 1084 A. D., and one of whose faces contains the earliest Burmese inscription yet discovered in Burma. The Ananda Pagoda was next visited. It was built by King Kyanzittha in 1090 A.D., that is to say, about the time of the Norman Conquest of England. Its corridors and aisles and its Gothic arches, and its perfect system of lighting and ventilation by means of open windows, remind one of a Cathedral in Europe. The building, its structure, and its surroundings bespeak that great, ineffable, peace, the objective of all the world-religions. The Pagoda is the largest store-house of statuary in Burma, because it enshrines the statue of its founder, Kyanzittha, attended by Shin Araham, his father Confessor, as well as the images of the Buddhas of the present world cycle, namely, Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gotama, and because it also contains exquisitely wrought sculptures representing scenes in the life of Gotama Buddha, and terra cotta tiles depicting the chief incidents of the Buddhist Birth stories.

The excursion made at 7 a.m. on Sunday was a most delightful one. The objective was Myinpagan, a historic village nestling among green trees, which is about a mile down the river. The Irrawaddy was full to the brim, and its western bank is fringed by a range of hills, which yield earth-oil at Yenangyat. The early sun lit up the whole expanse of the broad water-way, and patches of greenery dotted here and there relieved the monotony of the scenery. The Party were

conveyed on a raft called the "Karaweik paung", which was, under the late *régime*, reserved for royalty alone. Its make-up in variegated colours made a splendid picture. It was towed by two racing boats, which proceeded to the accompaniment of Burmese music. On landing, the first Pagoda inspected was the Nanpaya, which was built, in 1059 A.D. by Manuha, the last of the Talaing Kings, who was brought a captive from Thaton by Anawrata, King of Pagan. It is constructed partly of stone and partly of brick, and contains fine specimens of sculpture in stone. The figure of the Brahma is engraved on the interior pillars, which are also decorated with triangular floral designs. The building has just been renovated by the Public Works Department, under the personal supervision of Mr. V. E. Lambert, Assistant Engineer. The Manuha Temple was next visited. It was built by the same King in the same year. It contains three sitting, and one recumbent, images of the Buddha, having an Indian cast of features and contour of body. On close examination, the faces of the Buddha approximate almost to the negrito type. The return journey was made on horseback, Lady Adamson riding in a comfortable bullock cart provided with springs and a mattress. On the way a short halt was made at the Mingalazedi Pagoda which was built by the Tayókpyemin or the "King who fled from the Chinese" in 1241 A.D. A melancholy interest attaches to this shrine, because it was built a short time before the break-up of the Burmese Empire due to the impact of the Chinese invasion, and because it was erected by a King, who was so luxurious as to require 300 dishes at each of his three daily meals.

At 5.15 p.m. on the same day, the Lieutenant-Governor and Party again landed, and visited the Gawdawpalin Pagoda which was built by Narapatisithu between 1174 and 1198 A.D., on the site, where he adored the *manes* of his ancestors, golden figures being made to represent them. Here lacquerware articles, in different stages of manufacture, were exhibited, and offered for sale. The gentlemen of the Party ascended to the upper storeys of the Pagoda, whence a good panoramic view of the locality was obtained. Lady Adamson and Mrs. Barry spent the time in making enquiries about the different stages of manufacturing lacquerware.

At 7 a.m. on Sunday, the 31st July, the *Sladen* left Pagan.

THE RELIGION OF THE BUDDHA WILL LAST 5,000 YEARS.

As Sir Monier Monier-Williams has endorsed this idle tradition and published it to the world in his great work on Buddhism * it is essential to ascertain the basis on which the statement is founded. The Buddhists do not question the truth of the statements in the Pali text of the *Tripitaka*, but they are at liberty to criticise the commentaries, such as the *atthakathās*, *tīkās*, etc. In the present case, the limit of the continuance of Buddhism is fixed by the *atthakathās* and not by the Buddha himself.

The *Dīghanikāya*, the *Mahāvagga* of the *Suttapitaka* and the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* do not contain any allusion to the question, but distinctly say, on the other hand, that the succession of monks will never be interrupted so long as there is peace and concord among them: "*Sace, Subhadda, ime bhikkhū samāvihāreyyūṃ asuñño loko arahantehi assa.*"

In the *Chūlavagga*, however, it is said that Gotama Buddha was averse to the admission of nuns into the Church, as he foresaw the risk accruing to the Order of Monks, and declared that his Religion would last 1,000 years if no nuns were admitted, but only 500 years, if they were. This is, of course, only a hypothetical statement, and an euphemistic avowal of unwillingness to recognize the Order of Nuns, which was subsequently formed. But the commentators took a serious view of the matter, and, being constrained to put a literal interpretation on the declaration, prolonged the period of 1,000 years to 5,000, which they had no authority to do. In the *Chūlavagga-atthakathā*, a period of 1,000 years is assigned to each of the following classes of saints:—

- (a) Patisambhidāpatta ;
- (b) Sikkhāvipassaka ;
- (c) Anāgāmi ;
- (d) Sakadāgāmi ;
- (e) Sotapanni.

* "And here again, in regard to the doctrine left behind by each, a vast distinction is to be noted. For the doctrine delivered by Christ to His disciples is to spread by degrees everywhere until it prevails eternally. Whereas the doctrine left by Buddha, though it advanced rapidly by leaps and bounds is, according to his own admission, to fade away by degrees, till at the end of 5,000 years it has disappeared altogether from the earth, and another Buddha must descend to restore it.—Monier-Williams' *Buddhism*, pp. 556, 567.

In the *Anguttaraṭṭhakathā* a similar assignation is made, and the following are the classes :—

- (a) Patisambhidāpatta ;
- (b) Chhalābhiniñña ;
- (c) Tevijjaka ;
- (d) Sukkhavipassaka ;
- (e) The observers of the *Pālimōkkha*.

Personally, I am inclined to think with Froude * that Truth is writ large on the tablets of eternity, and that it is idle to set bounds to the limits of eternity.

BURMESE ERAS AND THEIR RECKONING.

THE years of Sakarāj (*Thetkayit*, the 'Vulgar Era' of the Burmese) throughout the Kalyāni inscription are expressed by means of mnemonic words, the latter being written in the reverse order.

The following list contains the words most commonly used in this connexion ;—

- CIPHER—*kha*; *suñña* (void), *nabha* (the sky).
- ONE—*rāpa* (form).
- TWO—*do* (or *dve*) ; *chamma* (there being two kinds of skins) ; *Yama* (a couple).
- THREE—*sikhi* (there being three kinds of fires, namely, of *lōbha* or *rāga*, *dōsa*, and *mōha*).
- FOUR—*bēda* (the number of Vedas being four).
- FIVE—*pāna* (there being five kinds of intoxicants).
- SIX—*rasa* (there being six different kinds of tastes).
- SEVEN—*muni* (there being seven kinds of sages).
- EIGHT—*nāga* (there being eight kinds of *nāgas*).
- NINE—*ruddha* (there being nine kinds of *samāpattis* : five *rūpajjhāna*, and four *arūpajjhāna*).

* " First, it (history) is a voice for ever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. For every false word or unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust or vanity, the price has to be paid at last ; not always by the chief offenders, but paid by some one. *Justice and truth alone endure and live.* Injustice and falsehood may be long-lived, but doom-day comes at last to them, in French revolutions and other terrible ways."—Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects* Vol. 1, p. 27.

Two eras, both of exotic origin, are in use among the Burmese:—the era of Religion, or Anno Buddhæ, reckoned by the Burmans from 544 B.C., and the Vulgar era, or Sakkarāj.

The Burmans would derive Sakkarāj from Sakka or Sakra, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, and *rājā*, a king; because, according to them, the era was inaugurated by the King of the *devas*. In ancient books and inscriptions, however, the word is found written Sakarāj, which is more consonant with its true etymology from Sakarāja. It is, in fact, a form of the Saka era of India, and is found in use in most of the Indo-Chinese countries and in Java, being reckoned properly from Monday, 14th March 78 A.D. (Julian era).

The earliest era used in Burma seems to have been the ERA OF RELIGION, reckoned as above; but, according to the Burmese, this era was abolished by Samundari, King of Prome, or Sriksheṭra, in Anno Buddhæ 624, and a new era was established in its own second year, thus wiping out 622 years of the era of Religion. Hence the era established by King Samundari had the name of the *Dodorasa* Era applied to it.

It will be thus seen that the *Dodorasa* Era of King Samundari reckons from 78 A.D., that is, from the Saka Era of India. The correspondence of the beginning of this era in India and Burma, and of its very appellation, and the existence of architectural remains in Prome, which resemble those of Upper India, are convincing proofs, to my mind, that there was frequent intercourse between India and Prome in the first century after Christ, when the latter was a seaport, and that Indian influence was predominant in the Irrawaddy valley.

But the Burmese and the Indo-Chinese generally reckon, and have for centuries reckoned, the Sakkarāj from 638 A.D., adding, as they say 622 and 560 to it to arrive at the Anno Buddhæ. That is, to convert a year Sakkarāj into a year Anno Buddhæ the numbers 622 and 560 must be added to the former. How the number 622 was arrived at, we have already seen, and the next puzzle is to find out why 560 has also to be added.

Besides the name *Sakkarāj* or *Thetkayit*, the name *Khachhapāñcha* is applied to the era, which commences with 638 A.D., and the Burmese records are, so far as I know, silent as to the reasons for its introduction. For the matter of that they are silent as to the causes that led to the adoption of the *Saka* era of 78 A.D.

But there is evidence to show that the new *Sakkarāj* or Era of 638 A.D. is of Chinese origin. Forbes, in his *Languages of Further India*, p. 26, talks of the 'singular fact that all the nations of Ultra-India, although deriving their religion, civilization and their literature from India, have not adopted any of the Indian Eras, but have borrowed from China.'

He then goes on to quote from Garnier :

"Les relations établies par les Thang avec les contrées du midi avaient propagé sans aucun doute les connaissances astronomiques et le calendrier Chinois, et c'est la peut-être l'origine de l'ère qui est aujourd'hui la seule employée à Siam (CAMBODGE), au Laos, et en Birmanie, et qui commence à l'an 638. Cassini a démontré en effet que le point de départ de cette ère était purement astronomique. Le 21 Mars 638 la nouvelle lune coïncida avec l'entrée du soleil dans le premier signe du zodiaque et produisit une éclipse importante."

As to the travels of the Era from China to Burma, they may be accounted for thus. The Annamese, who became subject to China as long ago as the year 221 B.C. under the Emperor Huangti, passed it on to their neighbours, the Cambodians, whose empire extended in the early centuries of the Christian era, prior to their conquest by the Siamese (1351-1374 A. D.), as far as the shores of the Gulf of Martaban. Traces of their influence and civilization are still to be found in the painting, sculpture and architecture of Burma. It is also quite probable that the Burmese received their new era direct from the Chinese, one of the acts of suzerainty of the Chinese government being to distribute copies of the Chinese calendar among tributary States.

To convert the present *Sakkarāj* into years A.D., it is simply necessary to add 638; thus $1255 + 638 = 1893$. The year 1893 A.D. = the year 1255 B.E. (Burmese Era). According to the Burmans, the reckoning is as follows :

1255 years	<i>Sakkarāj</i> .
560 years	<i>Khachhapañcha</i> .
622 years	<i>Dodorasa</i> .
2437	the present year A. B.

Subtract 1893 (years A.D.) from 2437 (years A. B.), and 544 B.C. is arrived at as the commencement of the Era of Religion.

It will, however, be perceived that there is nothing Indian about the *Sakkarāj* of the modern Burmese, except its name and the traditions connected with it.

REVISED BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April and July 1910, pages 474—81 and 850—60, is an interesting discussion on the "The Revised Buddhist Era in Burma," carried on between Dr. Fleet and Mr. Blagden, and the latter asked me to intervene. Most willingly did I comply with his request.

The thesis laid down by Dr. Fleet and questioned by Mr. Blagden is this:—That the reckoning with the initial point in B. C. 544 was devised by Ceylon, was put together in its complete form just after A.D. 1165, and was carried to Burma in the decade A.D. 1170—80.

At pages 256-7 of the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume, XXIII, 1894, I have discussed about the Burmese eras and the mode of reckoning them. There are three eras, namely, the Era of Religion which began in B.C. 544; the Saka Era, which began in A.D. 78; and the Chinese Era, now current, which began in A.D. 638. The Saka Era was established in its own second year, after wiping out 622 ($544 + 78 = \text{Dodorasa}$) years of the Era of Religion; and the Chinese Era was established after wiping out 560 (*Khachhapañcha*) years of the Saka Era.

There appears to be strong evidence to show that the Era of Religion or the Nirvāṇa Era, which began in B. C. 544, was known to the Burmans long before the twelfth century A.D. When they adopted the Saka as well as the Chinese Era, the year was reckoned in its equivalent of Anno Buddhæ. Further, at pages 49-50 of the Kalyāṇī Inscription (Rangoon Edition) precise dates are given of three principal events: Anno Buddhæ 1601, Sakkarāj 419, Anuruddha or Anawrata conquered Thatōn; Anno Buddhæ 1708, Sakkarāj 526, Śrī Sanghabodhi Parakkamabāhu, King of Ceylon, reformed Buddhism; Anno Buddhæ 1714, Sakkarāj 532, Mahāthera Uttarajīva set out for Ceylon.

In order to convert a year of Anno Buddhæ into a year of the Christian era, we have to deduct 544 from the former; and in order to turn a year of Sakkarāj into a year of the Christian era, we have to add 638 to the former. It will thus

be seen that in Burma it is customary in all important documents to record dates in Anno Buddhæ as well as in Sakkarāj, the one acting as a salutary check on the other.

The Myazedi inscription, which has been referred to in the discussion, is the earliest lithic record, as yet found in Burma, which is inscribed in the Burmese character. It has four faces each of which is engraved in a different language, namely, Burmese, Talaing, Pāli and an unidentified language. Mr. Blagden notes that there are two copies of the quadrilingual epigraph and Dr. Fleet doubts its being a contemporary record because it states only the year of the accession of King Kyanzittha, namely, 1628 Anno Buddhæ (A.D. 1084), and omits the month and day of the erection of the pagoda. As regards Mr. Blagden's query, the following account will show why, unlike the majority of other lithic records, two copies of the same inscription were made.

The stone now in the Pagan Museum appears to be the original. It was found at the foot of a cross-legged image of the Buddha which is on the north face of the Myazedi Pagoda. The Palace of the King being situated to the north of the pagoda, its northern face would afford the nearest approach to royal worshippers. The workmanship of the inscription is neat and clear, and the letters are finely cut. The stone is hard and is closely grained. The letters, as compared with those on the second, are smaller, and, on the face of the inscription recorded in Pāli, twenty letters take up a space of 12 inches. The stone is cubical in shape; its length, covered by letters, is 3 feet 3½ inches, and its breadth or thickness is 1½ feet.

The second stone, which is an exact replica of the first, and which is now conserved on the platform of the pagoda, is soft in grain, and several layers have been peeled off. The letters are larger in size, twenty letters on the Pāli face covering a space of 2 feet 2 inches. Its height is 4 feet 8 inches, breadth 1 foot 9½ inches, and thickness 1 foot ½ inch. It was found close to the remains of a library which is to the north-east of the pagoda.

The above circumstances explain why there are two exact copies of the epigraph. One, the original, was set up close to the image, whose construction it commemorates. The second, which is a copy of the original record, was put up in the Library for safe custody. In the case of three or four inscriptions found at Pagan, duplicates have also been

discovered. This fact disposes of the alleged unique peculiarity of the Myazedi record.

Dr. Fleet's objection may be met by saying that the Myazedi inscription only gives the year of the Era of Religion because it records a past fact, namely, the year of accession of King Kyanzittha, and because that era was common to the four communities using the four scripts of the epigraph. It is not customary for the Burmans to incise, on stones, records which are not contemporary, or to make forgeries of lithic records, for the simple reason that the epigraphs declare the relinquishment of property and its dedication to a sacred purpose, and not its acquisition for a temporal or utilitarian purpose.

It now remains to consider the great historical value attached to the Myazedi inscription, and how it may be utilized in revising the chronology, given by Phayre in his *History of Burma*, of the reigns of the four kings of Pagan: Anawrata, Sawlu, Kyanzittha and Alaungsithu. Phayre based his work on the *Hman Nan Yazawin* or Mahāyazawin, which was compiled in 1829 during the reign of King Bagyidaw (1819-37). As these chronicles were compiled under Royal patronage, their chronology is generally accepted to be correct throughout Burma, although it does not coincide with the dates given in the older records, both historical and epigraphic. Assuming that the Myazedi inscription is a contemporary record—there are no reasons to the contrary—King Kyanzittha, otherwise called Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja, ascended the throne in 1628 of the Era of Religion corresponding to A.D. 1084. He reigned for twenty-eight years, that is, up to A.D. 1112. The corresponding dates in Sakkarāj will be 446 and 474. These latter figures correspond in a remarkable degree with those given in the "*Jātā bōn Yazawin*" or the Chronological Tables based on the Royal horoscopes. As the Burmans, in common with the Hindus, set a great store by astrology and horoscopes, these tables appear to afford us trustworthy chronological data. Relying on the Myazedi inscription as well as these tables and the other records, Phayre's dates may be revised as follows:—

Name of King.	Commencement of Reign.			Length of Reign.
	Year of Religion.	A. D.	Burmese Era.	
Anawrata ...	1588	1044	406	33
Sawlu ...	1621	1077	439	7
Kyanzittha ...	1628	1084	446	28
Alaungsithu ...	1656	1112	474	75

Mr. Blagden appears to mistake Alaungsithu for Kyanzittha in his later article. Kyanzittha's title is "Sri Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja", and he reigned from A. D. 1084 to 1112. Alaungsithu's title is "Sri Tribhuwanāditya-pavara-pandita-Sudhamma rāja-Mahādhipati Narapati-Sithu," and he reigned from A.D. 1112 to 1187. If the dates given above are accepted, Burmese chronology, so far as it relates to the four kings, will rest on a firmer basis and the elucidation of Burmese history by the light of Talaing epigraphs, which Mr. Blagden has so kindly undertaken to do, will proceed more satisfactorily.*

KALYĀNĪ SIMĀ AT PEGU.

The Kalyānī Inscription is situated at Zainganaing, the western suburb of the town of Pegu. It comprises ten stone-slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides, except the 9th and 10th stones, which are incised on one face only. Owing either to the vandalism of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, who, for ten years, held supreme power in Pegu at the beginning of the 17th century A. D., or to the insensate fury of Alompra's soldiery, who plundered Pegu in 1757 A.D., all of them are more or less broken; but the fragments, which are lying scattered about, can easily be restored. When whole their average dimensions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. There are 70 lines of text to each face, and three letters to an inch. The language of the first three stones is Pali, and that of the rest is Talaing, the latter being the translatory language of the Pali Text. These stones were set up in 1476 A.D. by Dhammacheti or Rāmādhipati, King of Pegu, in order to record the ceremonial relating to the consecration of the Kalyānī Simā or Hall of Ordination. The Pali text and its English translation were published by me in 1892, and Mr. Blagden is now engaged upon deciphering and translating the Talaing version, which contains two additional items; (i) a long list of *Simās* in the Talaing country; and (ii) a detailed account of the enshrining of certain sacred images in some holy place, presumably a pagoda, under the immediate supervision of King Rāmādhipati. The former, namely, the list of *Simās* will be of great topographical value in our present state of knowledge, and the latter apparently relates to a Buddhist Mission sent to Bodhi-Gaya. I am sure that Oriental scholars fully appreciate the

*Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1911, pages 212-216.

high value of Mr. Blagden's Talaing researches, and have no doubt that the fruits of his endeavours will materially lighten the labour of succeeding generations in the field of Indo-Chinese history and antiquities. Indeed, his interpretation of the Myazedi Inscription has been as important in the domain of Indo-Chinese archaeology, as the reading of the Rosetta stone in Egyptology.

EXCAVATION AT PETLEIK PAGODA.

AT Thiipyitsaya, in the Pagan Township, there are two sister Pagodas bearing the name of Petleik. The western shrine, which appears to be the older of the two, was completely excavated, the eastern being left untouched owing to want of funds. The former is so called because of its singularly shaped foliated capital, which connects the *sikkhāra* with the bell-shaped dome. It appears to be the prototype of the Seinnyet Pagoda. On the band bisecting the dome and facing the cardinal points are miniature shrines recalling the form of the Temple at Bodh-Gaya. On the northern face a hole has been made by treasure-seekers exposing to view terra cotta tiles of an ancient but unknown date, depicting Dipankara Buddha as prophesying that, in the ages to come, Sumedhā and Sumitta, a flower-girl, would respectively be re-born as Prince Siddhattha and his wife, Yasodharā. The Pagoda, as it stands, appears to have been added to from time to time.

At one or two places, where the brickwork of the basement has broken away, the mouldings of different patterns and of different periods can be traced beneath, and the width of the corridor on the east is only three feet and three inches, as compared with four feet, the breadth of corridors on the three remaining faces. The eastern facade is the most interesting of all. There is a rectangular courtyard with a masonry flooring, whose northern, eastern, and southern sides are lined with rows of very low pillars, each one foot and six inches in diameter, and standing on a plinth, which is almost flush with the ground level. These pillars apparently serve as rests or sockets for wooden columns which at one time supported the roof of a porch or *Mandapa*. Near these pillars ashes of wood-work were found, and this fact, coupled with the discovery of a lump of vitrified tiles, seems to show that the porch was burnt down either by accident or through persecution.

Further, the approach to the entrance is lined with stone and masonry figures of a deer and dragon, fragments of which were found. A broken stone inscription in the Talaing language was also discovered.

EXCAVATIONS AT PEIKTHANO IN MAGWE DISTRICT.

IN their Revenue and Agricultural Department letter No. 3745-97-2 dated the 24th November 1904, the Government of India suggested that some attention might be devoted to the prehistoric civilization of Burma, and particularly to the lake dwellings in Upper Burma, about which very little is, at present, known. As the ancient city of Peikthano, which is close to the modern village of Kôkkogwa in the Magwe district, is one of the reputed prehistoric sites of Burma, excavations were undertaken there in the open season of 1904-05. On the palace site three teeth of a large size were discovered, which were identified by Major Alcock of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as the teeth of some ruminant, such as a bullock or buffalo. At Yerkan village, some charred bones and broken pieces of red unglazed pottery were found. By digging into two low mounds close to the southern wall of Peikthano city, seven funerary urns were unearthed, which were arranged in some sort of order. One remarkable feature of the excavation is, that no implement, weapon or ornament of stone or metal, or of any description, was found; and one is left to base his theory or conjecture on the urns and the calcined bones deposited in them, together with the earthenware tobacco pipes picked up, from time to time, by the villagers in the course of cultivation. My personal impression is, however, that these *tumuli* were originally encased in brick and mortar and surmounted by temples, and that they were erected by a people who had attained to a fairly high degree of civilization. There is a uniformity in the thickness of the walls and the size of the bricks used; and the plans of the city, palace, and other buildings display, in a remarkable degree, geometrical symmetry and mathematical precision. Further, the proportionate shape and size of the urns and the tobacco pipes, and the exquisite ornamentation displayed on them, testify to the high perfection of the ceramic art attained by this forgotten people who appear to be Kadu prisoners of war brought away in the fifth century B. C. from Mahāmyaing in the Chindwin valley, by Duttabaung, King of Prome.

The Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, enquired whether there was any recent information about Peikthano, an ancient capital in the Magwe district, referred to at page 233 of the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part II, Volume II. He was informed that there are two ancient cities called Peikthano. One in the Magwe district, and the other in the Upper Chindwin, to which the same traditions are attached. Each city was ruled by a Princess called the Peikthano Minthami, who possessed a fabulous drum, which, when sounded, would cause floods thereby safeguarding the country against foreign invasion; and each of them was destroyed in 413 B. C. by Duttabaung, King of Prome, who had three eyes, one of which was divine. The King, by means of a stratagem, destroyed the miraculous drum, and the Princess destroyed his divine eye by similar means. A substratum of truth appears to be embedded in these traditions. Peikthano is the Burmanized form of Vishnu, and the Hindu God, Siva, has a third eye. The warring between Prome, whose ruler was three-eyed, and Peikthano, whose Queen was called Peikthano Minthami, appears to symbolise the struggle for supremacy between Saivism and Vaishnavism. Further, there is a tradition that, if a person is a native of Taungdwingyi, he belongs to the Kantu race, which may be identified with the Kadus of the present day, who preserve their distinct nationality amidst the Shans, Burmans, Chins and Kachins. The following inferences may be drawn from the above traditions. A Tibeto-Burman colony, which subsequently developed into the Burmese nation, settled down at Prome, which was then under Pyu domination, and accepted the Siva cult. A colony of Kadus, who were also a Tibeto-Burman tribe, settled down at Mahāmyaing in the Chindwin Valley, and embraced the Vishnu cult. The struggle between Peikthano and Prome was due to differences of religious opinion rather than to a desire of territorial aggrandisement. Vaishnavism finally succumbed; and Saivism, in its turn, was later on absorbed by Buddhism.

EXCAVATIONS AT HALINGYI IN SHWEDO DISTRICT.

HALINGYI is ten miles to the south-west of Shwedo town. It has hot springs and is the centre of a salt industry. It is redolent of traditions about the Pyumin and Pyônmin, but

possesses no reliable historical record either on stone or palm leaf. The Pyu are, doubtless, the P'iao of Chinese history and the Pyôn (Prohm-Brohm-Brahman) were the Brahmanical or Aryan colonists of the Gangetic valley, who overflowed into Burma during the process of their territorial expansion. Nor are the buildings of ancient date; and, as a last resort, excavation had to be undertaken. The only glimmering of history that is available is that 799 Kings ruled over Halingyi, whose classic name is Hanthā-nagara (Hamsa-nagara), and that Karabaw was the founder of the dynasty. On such a slender basis no historical fabric of any value could be raised.

The physical configuration of a country exercises an important influence upon its destiny. The decadence of Halingyi appears to be partly due to the shifting of the bed of the river Mu, which now enters the Irrawaddy near Myinmu below Sagaing. Formerly it joined the main stream at Thitseingyi, which is now separated from the Mu by a chain of lakes and a plain of low-lying alluvial land. To the south-west of Halingyi, too, there is a series of lakes connecting that locality with the same river. Commerce was, in those remote days, as it still is, the life-blood of nations; and the deviation of the course of the Mu river must have adversely affected the prosperity of Halingyi; but how and when that deviation took place there is neither any written record nor oral tradition.

That Halingyi was a flourishing place, some centuries ago, is evidenced by the big tamarind trees found between it and Ngapi-o. By actual measurement, two of them were found to be 24½ and 18 feet in circumference respectively. Tamarind trees of similar dimensions have been found at Pagan, and they are said to have been planted in 1059 A. D.

In December 1904, a villager brought me a huge brick, whose dimensions are as follows:—

					Inches.
Length	...	...	...	...	20
Breadth	...	...	...	...	6
Thickness	...	...	...	...	3

He informed me that a little to the north of Halingyi, the traces of a moat and city walls might still be seen. I determined to explore the ancient site and, when I revisited the place in February 1905, brought with me my Architectural Surveyor, Babu S. N. Roy. Three plans were prepared by him: (i) Plan of Halingyi, (ii) Plan of Kalagôn, and (iii) Plan of Payagôn or ruins of what is supposed to be a pagoda. They

will, in some measure, elucidate my report on the subject. The ancient city of Halingyi is indicated on the first plan. There are now no villages within the city walls, and the land is partially cultivated. The locality is singularly devoid of ruined pagodas; for the Tawyagu on the western wall is a pagoda of comparatively modern construction, and Payagôn, which is to the south of the Palace, may not be the site of a pagoda. The salt industry, which requires large quantities of fuel, has caused the denudation of vegetation, and no big trees are found. Traces of a moat are clearly visible on the northern, eastern, and western faces. The city is rectangular in form, and measures about 9,600 feet from north to south, and about 5,800 feet from east to west. Nowhere do the walls remain standing; the bricks are strewn about on the level of the natural ground; and judging by the area covered by the broken bricks, the breadth of the walls would appear to be about 16 feet. Breaches in the walls and heaps of bricks at regular intervals mark the places where the gates stood at one time.

Not quite in the centre of the city, but a little close to its south-eastern corner, lies an enclosed space measuring about 1,400 feet square, which is supposed to be the site of the palace. Here, too, the walls, which appear to have been about 8 feet thick, have been completely razed to the ground. Portions of the eastern wall and the whole of the western appear to have been washed away. The site of the Palace is not perfectly level: there is a low depression on the northern and southern faces and the ground slopes away at a gradient of from 20 to 25 feet east to west. Further, the north-western corner of the city walls appear to have been completely washed away by an inrush of water flowing along the level of the low ground.

The above facts seem to indicate that Halingyi, whenever it might have existed, was not a stronghold of Buddhism and that its destruction was due to a seismic convulsion. Water charged with sulphur and salt still bubbles out of hot springs close to the southern wall of the city, which are breached at two places to admit of the overflow of water; and the dry *nullah*, which intersects the city almost diagonally, must have been filled with water at one time.

Buddhist cities always face towards the sun: but Halingyi, like Hindu and Chinese capitals, appears to face towards the south. The villagers, who cultivated the fields within the city walls, are said to find, from time to time, objects of antiquarian value, as gold and silver coins, bronze figures, ornaments,

etc., but these were disposed of to others, or melted down for the sake of the metal. A few of the coins and ornaments were preserved to adorn the necks of children, and, being antique objects, are supposed to be conducive to longevity. With the help of the village headmen, I procured two silver coins and two gold ornaments. The coins are of equal size, and are about seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, and in thickness about one-third of that of a 2 anna piece. Their obverse face appears to represent the *Dharmachakra* and the reverse the Buddhist *trisula*. These coins were probably brought over to Halingyi by Indian Buddhist immigrants from Gangetic India. One of the ornaments is shaped like the head of an axe, and the villagers believe it to be one of Indra's thunderbolts. It is seven-eighths of an inch long and three-sixteenths of an inch wide at its broadest part. The second ornament is hexagonal in shape, each face measuring about one-eighth of an inch; and there is a hole in the centre for stringing it with thread. These ornaments are of exquisite proportion and fine workmanship, and display a degree of finish and skill, which is one of the invariable concomitants of refinement and culture, which constitute our idea of civilisation.

EXCAVATIONS IN PROME DISTRICT.

According to the Burmese Chronicles, Prome or Srikshetra was founded by King Duttabaung, 501 years after the Nirvāna of the Buddha, that is in the year 443 B.C. Its antiquity must be comparatively high as it is often referred to in the Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty (618—907 A. D.) as the Kingdom of Piu and as it was known to the celebrated Chinese Pilgrims, Hiuen T'sang and I-tsing, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., and left trustworthy accounts of their travels. Indeed, the latter says: "Southward from this, and close to the sea-coast, there is a country called Srikshatra." It is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodesh, and the Irrawaddy (Eravati) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. During the solar eclipse of January 1907, and the Ardhodaya Festival of February 1908, large numbers of Hindus flocked to Prome to bathe in its sacred river. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery, about 15 years ago, at Lèbaw, a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza Railway station, of two gold

scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula "Ye dhammā hetupabbhava," which is incised in the Eastern Chalyan script of the 7th or 10th century A.D. These valuable records were published at pages 101-102 of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, Part IV, October 1898.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT YATHEMYO.

These circumstances led the Archæological Department to select Srikshetra for excavation. The site is now called Yathemyo, the city of the Hermit, and is five miles to the east of Prome, and the Railway Station of Hmawza is included within its area. The ruins consisting of earthen ramparts, walled enclosures, burial-grounds, stone sculptures, and pagodas in all stages of decay, are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of 400 square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about 10 miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the Railway Station as a centre. So far, there are very few data available whereby these discoveries can be explained. As regards epigraphical evidence, two inscriptions in an unknown script were found, last year, by the late General de Beyliè in the Bèbè Pagoda and the Kyaukka Thein, and they are being deciphered by Dr. Sten Konow, Government Epigraphist, and other European scholars. Six inscribed votive tablets bearing legends mostly in an Indian character, which were found at the Zegu and Bawbawgyi Pagodas, have been sent to Mr. Rai Bahadur Venkayya, M.A., Assistant Epigraphist. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence afforded by the style of the buildings and the stone sculptures. Of the cylindrical shaped Pagodas of ancient date, the best known are the Thaukkyama, Myinbahu, Bawbawgyi, Payagyi, and Payamā. The first has been thoroughly renovated, and has lost all traces of its original form; the upper portion of the second has been modernised, but its lower part still retains some of the features of its ancient architecture. Of the remaining three, whose form bespeaks their leaning towards the Sivite cult, Bawbawgyi is the best preserved; and Government has undertaken to conserve it.

The edifice may be described as a cylindrical dome resting on five receding terraces and crowned with an iron *ti*. It has a slight indentation in the centre, and the upper portion below the *ti* is shaped like a cone, or the termination of a phallic emblem. It is 153 feet high from the natural ground level to the top of the *ti*, and is 240 feet in circumference. The

measurements of the height of its several parts are as follows:—

		Feet.
Terraces	...	26
Body of Pagoda	...	73
Conical dome	...	24
<i>Amlaka</i>	...	5
<i>Ti</i>	...	25
Total		153

There are three peculiarities in the construction of the Bawbawgyi, which are not noticeable in the shrines of Pagan;

- (i) The exposed surface of the brick work on the body of the Pagoda is notched in squares so as to increase the adhesive qualities of the plaster.
- (ii) The core of the Pagoda, which is 80 feet high and 10 feet in diameter, is turned into a vertical hollow, in order apparently to secure economy;
- (iii) On the north face, two parallel lines, about 4 feet in breadth, run along the whole length of the cylindrical dome, almost detaching a thin strip of brick work from the structure. These lines indicate that the outer covering, which is in layers, was built in a circular form, and that a small segment was added to complete the whole structure.

STYLE OF THE STONE SCULPTURES FOUND.

One characteristic feature of the sculptures found is, that groups of figures are depicted on single slabs of stones. At Yahandagu there are two pieces, on one of which are cut, in relief, three images of the Buddha, while on the other are sculptured four. Of the sculptures discovered, the most interesting are these found at Pogaungkan and Zegu. The former appears to represent the Buddha assailed by Māra, the figures of whose hosts on the lower panel having nearly been obliterated. The Buddha is seated on a throne decorated with the heads of two *makāras*, each of which is supported by a *nāga*. On either side of him is the bearer of a *chauvi* (fly-flapper). On his right, are two crowned figures, and over them is a winged angel. The crowned figures may be identified with Brahma and Indra. On the left of the Buddha are two figures: one is that of a male carrying a double-headed trident and a club, and the other that of a female. Judging by the

ornament of the left ear, the contour of the body, and the drapery, they may be identified with Siva and his consort Kāli. The sculpture found at Zegu is also divided into two panels. In the upper, the Buddha is represented with an aureoled head, and flanked by two crowned and well draped figures, each carrying a fly-flapper. In the centre of the lower panel is a tree, flanked by two deer in a *couchant* position. On the right of the tree are two figures in an attitude of adoration, the inner being a male and the outer a female. On the left are two male and female crowned figures in a similar attitude. These four figures do not kneel, but squat on the ground with their legs bent before them. The figures represented in these two sculptures do not belong to the Southern School of Buddhism. In the sculpture of that School the Buddha is flanked, on the right, by Indra holding a fly-flapper, and on the left, by Brahma holding an umbrella, and attendant figures are represented in a kneeling position, that is to say, with both their legs folded under their bodies. The question arises: "whence came these sculptures, and by whom were they carved?" It, however, does not admit of a ready solution which, if there is any, must be sought outside of Burma, and beyond the limits of the Southern School of Buddhism. The sculptures certainly appear to claim kinship with those of Amaravati of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., which were influenced by the Gandhāra School of Art. If this point could be satisfactorily settled, we should seem to be on the threshold of recovering a lost chapter in the history of Buddhism in India.

Yathemyo is situated about 5 miles to the east of Prome, and was, according to the Burmese Chronicles, surrounded by a circuit wall, with 32 large and 23 small gates, and filled with splendid buildings, including three royal palaces with handsome gilt spires. About the beginning of the 2nd century of the Christian era, the town was abandoned and fell into ruin, but the remains of massive walls, constructed with well-burnt bricks, 18 inches long by 9 wide and 3 thick, and of embankments and pagodas attest that, where some seven or eight villages now stand in rice fields and swamps, intersected here and there by patches and strips of brushwood, there was once a large city, the capital of a flourishing and powerful kingdom. Excavations were continued on this ancient site, and a number of terra-cotta votive tablets were found, which, in the absence of reliable histories and legible inscriptions, will furnish us with trustworthy data. On the obverse face of one of the votive

tablets is the figure of the Buddha with an aureoled head. On his right is a small *stāpa*, and on his left is an object, which looks like a flower. The pose of the Buddha is quite unorthodox, according to Burmese ideas, and appears to be like that of *Avalokitesvāra*. The palms of both hands rest on the knees, and the right foot hangs down. In the ordinary attitude of the Buddha, the feet are pressed closely one above the other, and the left palm rests on the lap, while the right hand, touching the knee, points to the earth below. On the proper right of the Buddha is a legend which is in Sanskrit. On the reverse face of the tablet are a few characters in an unknown language, which is supposed to be Pyu. There is no legend on the reverse face of the second tablet. The obverse face is divided into two panels. On the upper, the Buddha is depicted in a sitting attitude, and is flanked by two Bodhisattvas. All the three figures have aureoled heads. The upper portion of the central figure is flanked by a *stāpa* and a lotus flower supported by its stalk, which is apparently held by each Bodhisattva. The pose of the Bodhisattvas is not met with in Burmese iconography. The hands are not clasped together; the feet are not in a kneeling attitude; and the knee nearest to the Buddha is slightly raised. On the lower panel is represented the Buddha in a sitting attitude with both hands outstretched. He is flanked by two female figures, each carrying a lotus flower in either hand. All the three figures have aureoled heads. The female on the left side of the Buddha is better dressed than the one on the right. She wears a long mantle, which is divided in front and exposes a part of the bosom. The two panels are divided by a line of Sanskrit legend. Could these and the other tablets found be ascribed to the Eastern Chalukyas, who flourished between the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.? Representative specimens of these tablets were submitted to the Government Epigraphist for examination.

GEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ABOUT YATHEMYO.

In the absence of trustworthy historical or epigraphical data, any light afforded by geology will be useful in helping us to fix the probable age of Yathemyo, which is stated, in the Burmese Chronicles, to have been founded in 443 B.C., when the sea receded from the vicinity of Prome, and Mount Popa burst out into an active volcano. In the Prome District, a range of hills intervenes between the railway line and the present channel of the Irrawaddy. According to tradition, the river, at one time, ran to the east of that range, and Inma lies

on the site of its ancient bed. If the tradition is true, the old channel of the river would pass through Thèbyu to the north of Prome, and would join its present channel near the neighbourhood of Tarôkmaw, where the breadth of the river and the existence of numerous islands indicate that there was, in that locality, at some remote period, a commingling of waters, whose increased volume and neutralised force produced a considerable stagnation of the current of the river and facilitated the deposit of silt, which was turned into islands. As in the vicinity of Pagan and Mount Popa, the Irrawaddy appears to have changed its bed from east to west near Prome. On being addressed on the above points, Mr. T. H. D. La Touche, Officiating Director, Geological Survey of India, was kind enough to furnish me with the following reply :—

" Mount Popa was active in Pliocene times, and may have continued so into Pleistocene times, but we have no definite information on this point. The most recent marine beds in Yenangyaung and Prome are of Miocene age, though Mr. Theobald thought that the older alluvium of both the Ganges and Irrawaddy valleys was of marine origin. We have no information about changes in the course of the Irrawaddy within recent times, but I should think it very unlikely that the Irrawaddy flowed down the Sittang valley, to the east of Pegu Yoma, so recently as the beginning of the Christian era." The statements in the Burmese Chronicles regarding the date of founding Yathemyo are not corroborated by geological evidence.

CONNECTION BETWEEN SOUTHERN INDIA AND ANCIENT PROME

The appellation Kadāram or Kidāram occurs on page 420 of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* and on page 88 of Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*. In the latter work, Kidāram is mentioned twice, apart from Kulaittakolam and Mādamalingam. Kulaittakolam is a combination of Kulataik and Taikkula, the name of one and the same locality, which may be identified with the "Kalah" of the Arabian geographers, the "Takola" of Ptolemy, the "Takala" of the Chinese Annals, and the "Golamattikanagaram" of the Kalyāni Inscription of Pegu (1476 A. D.). Mādamalingam is no other than Martaban. Taikkula and Martaban were occupied by the Talaings, and the former preceded Pegu as a seat of power. Should Kidāram be identified with ancient Prome, Pegu, or Taikkula? The question was referred to Mr. V. Venkayya. M. A., Rai Bahadur, the learned Epigraphist to

the Government of India. His two interesting notes are reproduced *in extenso* below. Full evidence still remains to be collected in order to solve the question satisfactorily. Personally, I am inclined to identify *Kadāram* or *Kidāram* with Taikkula, and its successor, Pegu.

First Note on Kadāram.

"The word occurs in the large Leyden plates where the form *Kidāra* (or *Kadāra*) occurs in the Tamil portion and *Katāha* in the Sanskrit portion. A certain Māravijayōttungavarman, who was born in the Sailendra-vamsa, was the lord of Sri-vishaya and was also ruling over *Katāha*. This is what we learn from the Leyden plates which belong to the reign of Rājārāja I. (A.D. 985—1013). His son, Rājendra Chōla I. claims to have defeated Samgrāma-vijayōttungavarman, king of *Kadāram*, "having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea." In the campaign against Samgrāma-vijayōttungavarman, the Chōla king conquered Mānakkavāram, *i. e.*, the Great Nicobar Islands, and Māppappālam, *i. e.*, the great Pāppālam. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Pāppāla is a seaport in Rāmaññadesa. Consequently, it was concluded that *Kadāram* or *Katāha* should be looked for in Burma or in some other part of Further India. The exact locality would depend on the identification of the other places in *Kadāram* conquered by the Chōla king. Three kings of *Kadāram* are known *viz.*, (1) Chūdāmanivarman, (2) his son, Māravijayōttungavarman, and (3) Samgrāma-vijayōttungavarman. The first two were evidently on terms of friendship with the Chōlas. Why the third fought against the Chōlas is not known. I do not understand how *Khettaram* can become *Kidāram* philologically. In Tamil *Kadāram* or *Kidāram* means ' (1) a brown, tawny yellow colour compounded with black; (2) brass boiler.' The composer of the large Leyden plates evidently accepted the second meaning of the word *Kadāram* and rendered it in the Sanskrit portion into *Katāha*, one of whose meanings is 'a shallow boiler for oil and butter.'

"If ancient Tamil literature can be believed, trade relations existed between the Indian Peninsula and Burma. According to the Tamil poem Pātinappālai, which is believed to have been composed during the reign of the ancient Chōla king Karikāla, the manufactures of Kālagam were imported into the Chōla capital. The commentator of the poem takes Kālagam to denote *Kadāram*. The Tamil *nighantus* or lexicons give

three meanings for the word Kālagam, viz, (1) blackness, (2) clothes, and (3) the place called Kadāram. Consequently, the ancient Tamil name of Kadāram was Kālagam.* I do not think Kālagam can be derived from Khetṭaram.

"The inscription in the Chalukya character carries the connection between South India and Burma to about the 8th century. But Tamil literature takes it back to still earlier times. And we have epigraphical evidence to show that trade relations continued down to the 13th century as testified to by the Tamil inscription found at Pagan (*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume VII, page 197). Any satisfactory location of Kadāram must be preceded by the correct identification of all the places mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla I. as having been conquered by him, in the campaign against the King of Kadāram. If, fortunately, you discover any records in Burma referring to the Chōla conquest, they would furnish direct evidence on the point."

Second Note on Kadāram.

"As far as I know, there are no grounds for identifying Sri-Vishaya with Orissa. On the other hand, 'Vijayam of great fame' mentioned among the conquests achieved in the campaign against the King of Kadāram figures as Sri-Vishaya in some of the records of Rājendra-Chōla I. Consequently, Sri-Vishaya must be looked for in or near Kadāram, wherever the latter may be located. That Kadāram was a dependency of Orissa has to be proved by future researches.

"Pāttinappālai must have been composed much earlier than the 11th century. It is, in fact, one of the poems assigned by Tamil scholars to the 2nd century after Christ, though I do not believe this date. It could not, at any rate, be later than the 6th century. The identification of Kālagam with Golamattikanagaram can be established beyond doubt only with the help of epigraphical records.

"I am appending a translation of the passage in the inscription of Rājendra Chōla I. which describes the conquest of Kadāram. The places already identified are in italics.

"Kalinga and Ceylon seem to have been closely connected in ancient times. During the second half of the 6th century A.D., a King of Kalinga came to Ceylon with the object of leading the life of a recluse and joined the brotherhood under the great elder Jotipāla. Similarly, there must have been some constant connection between Kalinga and Burma.

* That is, the villages (*gam* or *grama*) of Kāla.

"Kling (derived from Kalinga) is the name applied in the Malay countries, including the Straits Settlements, to the people of continental India, who trade thither or are settled in those regions and to the descendants of those settlers. This is probably due to the fact that the earliest settlers from continental India were from Kalinga. The coast of Kalinga appears to be that part of the continent, whence commerce with the Archipelago, at an early date, and emigration thither were most rife; and the name appears to have been in great measure adopted in the Archipelago as the designation of India in general, or of the whole of the peninsular part of it." (Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jobson* & c. Kling.)

"Another important fact which deserves mention in this connection is the fact that gold coins of the Eastern Chalukya Kings Saktivarman (A.D. 1003—15) and Rājārāja I. (A.D. 1022—63) have been found in Arakan and Siam (*Indian Antiquary*, Volume XX, page 273). These facts show that intimate trade relations must have existed between Kalinga and Further India, and corroborate the evidence afforded by the monuments and sculptures of ancient Prome."

Translation of the Passage Describing the Conquest of Kadāram.

"Having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sāṃgrāma vijayōttungavarman, the King of Kadāram, along with (his) vehicles, *viz.*, rutting elephants (*which were as impetuous as* the sea in fighting, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated; the (*arch called*) *Vidhyadhara-tōraṇa* at the 'war-gate' of the extensive city of the enemy; the 'jewel-gate' adorned with great splendour; the 'gate of large jewels'; Vijayam of great fame; Pannai, watered by the rivers; the ancient Malaiyūr (with) a fort situated on the high hill; Māyirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat; Ilangasogam (*i.e.* Lankāsōka), undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappālam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mevilimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Valaippanduru possessing (both) cultivated land and jungle; Talaitakkolam, praised by great men (versed in the sciences); Mādamaṅgam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuri-dēsam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); *Mānak-karāram*, whose flower gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region; and Kadāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea."

CONNECTION BETWEEN CHINA AND ANCIENT PROME.

Last year's researches established the intercourse between Prome and Northern India between the 4th and 6th centuries of the Christian era. Further researches have revealed the close political connection between China and ancient Prome during the 8th and 9th centuries. It is, however, quite possible that, at that period, the seat of power had been transferred to Pagan. The following extract from Stuart's *Burma through the Centuries* (pages 20-21) will be of great interest :—

"The mere record of the kings who succeeded Thinga Raja would be of no interest ; but Mr. Parker gives an interesting extract from the chapter on ' Southern Barbarians,' in the T'ang history, which throws a much clearer light on the Burma of the 8th and 9th centuries than the Burmese annals do. It shows how they impressed a contemporary Chinaman, though, he, of course, despised them as barbarians. He calls them ' P'iao ' and says that when the King goes out in his palankeen, he reposes on a couch of golden cord ; but for long distances he rides an elephant. They dislike taking life. They greet each other by embracing the arm with the hand. They know how to make astronomical calculations, and are devotees of Buddhism. They have a hundred monasteries with bricks of vitreous ware, embellished with gold and silver, vermillion, gay colours and red *kino*. The floor is painted and covered with ornamented carpets. The King's residence is in like style. The people cut their hair at seven years of age and enter a monastery. If, at the age of twenty, they have not grasped the doctrine, they become lay people again. For clothes they wear a cotton *sarong*, holding that, as silk involves the taking of life, it ought not to be worn. On the head they wear golden-flowered hats with a blue net, or bag set with pearls. In the king's palace, there are placed two bells, one of gold and one of silver. When an enemy comes they burn incense and beat the bells, in order to divine their good or evil fortune. There is a huge white Image a hundred feet high ; litigants burn incense and kneel before it, reflecting within themselves whether they are right or wrong, after which they retire. When there is any disaster or plague, the king also kneels down in front of it and blames himself. The women twist their hair high up on the crown of the head, and ornament it with strings of pearls ; they wear a natural-tinted female petticoat, and throw pieces of delicate silk over themselves. When walking they hold a fan, and the wives of exalted persons have four or five individuals at each side, holding fans. Nan-chao used to

exercise suzerainty over it on account of its contiguity and by reason of the military strength of Nan-chao. Towards the close of the 8th century A. D., the King Yung K'iang, hearing that Nan-chao had become part of the T'ang Emperor, had a desire to join China too, and Imousun sent an envoy named Yang Kia-ming to Kien-nan. The Viceroy of Si-ch'wan, Wai Kao, begged permission to offer the Emperor some barbarian songs, and, moreover, told the P'iao State to send up some musicians. For specimens of their music see the General Annals. His Majesty Divus Têh made Shu-nan-do President of the Imperial Mews, and sent him back. The Governor of K'ai Chou submitted a panegyric upon the P'iao music. In the year 832, the Nan-chao monarch kidnapped three thousand Burmans, and colonised his newly acquired eastern dominions with them."

PYU LANGUAGE.

"Pyu" (in Chinese, Piu or P'iao) is the name applied to Burma by the Arakanese as late as the 12th century A. D., and by the Chinese in the 8th and 9th centuries. The Pyus appear to be of Tibetan origin, and to have been converted to Hinduism. They burnt their dead, and buried the ashes in earthenware urns. In the 8th century, Burma was under the suzerainty of Nan-chao, an ancient Shan Kingdom, which has been identified with the modern Talifu in Yunnan. Owing to its contiguity to Tibet, Nan-choa appears to have been influenced by that country. In the Bèbè, Kyaukka Thein and Myazedi inscriptions in an unknown script, the double dot or *visarga* is often repeated, and there are a number of curves both above and below each line. I am inclined to think that the ancient Tibetan script of the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. might afford some clue in deciphering these three most important inscriptions. The Pyu language was probably interdicted and then stamped out by the Burmans as in the case of the Talaing tongue, whose cultivation was forbidden by Alaungpaya in the 18th century. It came in contact with Chinese, Talaing, and Sanskrit, but not with Pāli. It is, perhaps, related to the languages of the Lolos, Sifans, and Mantzu, who are still found in Yunnan, Ssuch'uan, and the eastern border of Tibet.

TALAING NAMES FOR PROME AND PAGAN.

In the Talaing inscriptions found at the Shwezigon Pagoda, Pagan, and the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome, the ancient city of Prome is called Sisit or cold country, and the region in which Pagan is situated is called Tattadesa (arid country).

THE NAME OF THE RISHI WHO FOUNDED ANCIENT PROME.

The Burmese Chronicles do not mention the name of the Rishi who founded ancient Prome or Sri Kshetra. According to the two Talaing epigraphs referred to above, his name is Bisnū. In describing the foundation of that city, the *Mahāyā-zawin* simply states that the Rishi was helped by six others, namely, Gawampati, Indra, Nāga, Garuda, Candī, and Pāramesvāra. Gawampati is the patron saint of the Talaings. Indra is the rain-good, and is worshipped by agriculturists. Nāga, the serpent was an object of worship in pre-Buddhist days. The Garuda, a mythical bird, is the vehicle of the good Vishnu. Pāramesvāra and Candī are Siva and his wife, Kālī. (In this category we have a hotch-potch of a number of primitive faiths). In borrowing from Talaing history, the Burmese chroniclers retained only the Rishi, and dropped his name, Bisnū. The locality is redolent of Bisnū, which is ascribed to various personalities : the Hindu god Vishnu, a princess, and a female spirit.

THE PO : U : DAUNG INSCRIPTION OF SINBYUYIN (1774 A. D.) AT PROME.

The right bank of the Irrawaddy River near Prome is fringed by a range of hills, and Po-u-daung is the name applied to the top-most of seven hills, forming part of this range. The Po-u-daung Hill is crowned with a massive rock, called the Hermit's cap, and shaped like a Buddhist priest's alms-bowl. On this rock a platform of brick is raised, on which stands the Po : u : daung Pagoda. It is about 30 feet high, and its form and architecture bespeak its being the handiwork of masons from the maritime provinces. Near the Pagoda is an image house which bears date 1236, Burmese Era, (1874 A.D.) In this image house Gotama Buddha is represented in a standing posture with the index-finger of his right hand pointing towards Prome, and Ananda, his beloved disciple, in a praying attitude, begging the Sage to explain his oracle fully.

On the western side of the Hermit's Cap— which is surrounded on every side, except the one where it joins the next hill, by sheer precipices of some thousand feet in depth—are three caves cut into the rock. Over these are images of the two traditional moles, also cut in the rock, representing them in an adoring attitude and asking some boon from Gotama Buddha. One of the caves is devoted to the custody of an inscription engraved on a sandstone slab, about four feet high by three

feet wide. The inscription was placed there by Sinbyuyin (1763—1776 A.D.), the second son of Alaungp'aya (Alompra). It bears date 1136 B. E. (1774 A.D.) and contains a record of his progress from Ava to Rangoon, his placing a new *ti** on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, and the removal of its old *ti*, which was thrown down by an earthquake in 1769 to be enshrined in the Po-u-daung Pagoda.

The placing of the new *ti* on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda by Sinbyuyin was symbolical of the consolidation of the power of the dynasty founded by his father in 1757 A. D., of the replacement of the Talaings by the Burmians in the Government of United Burma, and of the national jubilation over the success which had attended Burmese arms in the wars with Manipur, China and Siam. The ceremony of placing the *ti* was witnessed by the King in person, in order to convince the Talaings, whose abortive rebellion in Martaban had just been suppressed, that his rule was a personal one, and to impress on them the splendour of his power and the resources at his command. Moreover, to minimize the possibility of all future attempts at rebellion with the last of the Talaing kings as a centre of intrigue and disaffection, and to remove all hopes of the restoration of a Talaing monarchy, he ordered the execution of Byinnya Dala, the *et*-king of Pegu, who had surrendered to Alaungp'aya.

THE KALYANĪ INSCRIPTION OF PEGU.

The absence in the Buddhist Church of any organized ecclesiastical hierarchy under a central government renders it imperative that some kind of efficient check should be devised for the due maintenance of discipline, harmony, and moral control. It was, therefore, ordained by Gotama Buddha that twice in the month, at full moon and at new moon, and also once a year, at the end of the rainy season, meetings should be held where the assembled priests should be asked whether they had committed any of the offences mentioned in the *Patimokkha*, or whether the commission of such offences by any of them had been seen, heard of, or suspected by the others. The former meetings are called *uposatha* and the latter *pavāraṇā*. For the purpose of holding these meetings, at which it is the bounden

* A *ti* (umbrella) is the umbrella form of ornament which must be placed on the summit of every pagoda.

duty of all priests to attend, it is necessary that a convenient and central place should be appointed. Such a place is called a *simā*, and the ceremonial for its consecration is prescribed in the second Khandhaka of the *Mahāvagga*, Vinaya Pitaka. This ceremonial has, however, been interpreted in various ways by the commentaries and scholia on the *Mahāvagga*, such as the *Vinayatthakathā*, *Sāvatthadīpanī*, *Vimativinodanī*, *Vinayatikā* by Vajirabuddhithera, *Kankhāvitaraṇī*, *Vinaya-vinicchayaapakāraṇa*, *Vinayasangahapakāraṇa*, *Simālankārapakāraṇa*, and the *Simālankārasaṅgaha*; and the object of the Kalyāṇī Inscription is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions, and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a *simā*, which is in accordance with what is laid down by Gotama Buddha, and which, at the same time, does not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators.

A *simā* also serves another purpose. It is the place where *upasampada* ordination and other ecclesiastical ceremonies are performed. Unless the consecration of the *simā* is considered to be valid, the ceremonies performed therein are held to be null and void. Hence a *simā* is intimately connected with the existence of the Buddhist Priesthood, on which the whole fabric of Buddhism rests.

The following account of the manner in which *simās* are consecrated in Burma will be of interest as showing how the accretions of ages have modified the simple ceremonial of Gotama Buddha. A piece of land suitable for the consecration of a *simā*, and generally measuring about 105 or 125 feet in perimeter, is obtained from Government, which declares that the land is *visumgāma*, that is to say, land in respect of which revenue and all usufructuary rights have been irrevocably relinquished by the secular authorities in favour of the Buddhist Priesthood. Within the limits of this land, the learned and qualified priests, who have been appointed to perform the ceremony of consecration, mark the extent of the *simā*. At the distance of about 10 feet from the boundaries thus marked, an outer boundary-line is indicated. The land enclosed within these two boundary-lines is levelled and cleared and besmeared with mud. When the mud is dry, allotments of space measuring 6 by 3 feet are marked out in rows with lime or red earth, and an awning is constructed over the whole ground. Then a Chapter consisting of ten or fifteen priests take their seats in the first allotment of space in the first row and proceed to intone by turns the *Kammaṇācā* for the desecration of a *simā*, it being held necessary that, in order to the proper consecration

of the new *simā*, the one, which may probably exist on the same site, should be first desecrated. This ceremony is repeated till the last allotment of space in the first row is reached. The priests then seat themselves in the last allotment of space in the second row and continue the intonation of the same *Kammavācā*. The same ceremony is repeated till the first allotment of space in the second row is reached. Thus, once in a forward order, and then in a reverse order of the allotments of space arranged in rows is the same *Kammavācā* intoned till the number of rows is exhausted. The ceremony of desecrating a *simā* is repeatedly performed for about a week or ten days. After this, one or two days' rest is given to the officiating priests.

Twenty or thirty learned and qualified priests are now selected; and they proceed to mark the limits of the proposed *simā*, such limits being smaller in extent than those of the *visumgāma*. At the four corners of the site of the *simā*, and also on its sides, pits are dug deep enough to hold as much water as will not dry up before the conclusion of the intonation of the *Kammavācā* for the consecration of a *simā*—such water being regarded as the boundary. At the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet from these pits towards the inside, bamboo trellis-works are set up and the space thus enclosed is decorated with various kinds of flags and streamers, water-pots covered with lotus and other flowers, plantain trees, sugarcane, cocoanut flowers, *thabye* leaves and *nozā* grass. The awning mentioned above is likewise adorned with a ceiling of white cloth and with festoons of flowers.

Meantime, the pits are continually filled up with water so that it may not dry up before the ceremony is over. When the time approaches for the ceremony to begin, no more water is poured into the pits. Near each of them, a junior priest is stationed to furnish the officiating senior priest with replies in respect of the boundaries of the *simā*. At the appointed hour, the senior priest, holding a *Kammavācā*, slowly perambulates along the boundary-line of the *simā*. Approaching the eastern 'water-boundary' he asks: "Purattimāya disāya kim nimittam" and the junior priest answers: "Udakam, bhante." Similar questions and answers are asked and given also at the South-eastern, Southern, South-western, Western, North-western, Northern, and North-eastern points of the site, and to make the boundary-line continuous, also at the Eastern and South-eastern points, which have already been proclaimed. The questions and answers are asked and given first in Pāli and

then in Burmese. The same ceremony of proclaiming the boundaries is repeated by two other senior priests in succession. After the boundaries have thus been proclaimed three times, the *Kammavācā* for the consecration of a "*samānasamvāsakasimā*" is intoned seven or eight times by three of the priests at a time. After this, the *Kammavācā* relating to the consecration of an "*avippavāsasimā*" is chanted.

At the conclusion of the above ceremonies, a statement recording the year, month, day, and hour at which the *simā* is consecrated, the names of the senior priests who officiate at the ceremonies, and the name of the *simā*, is publicly read out. Lastly, in honour of the occasion, drums and conch-shells are sounded, and muskets are fired, and a shout of acclamation is raised by the people.

The above account is similar to that recorded in the Kalyānt Inscription, which is frequently cited or appealed to as the authority on the ceremonial relating to the consecration of *simās*.

Dharmacheti, or Rāmādhīpati, King of Pegu, who erected this Inscription in 1476 A. D., was an *ex*-priest, who, in emulation of Asoka, Sirisanghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu, and other Buddhist Kings of old, made the purity of Buddhism one of the objects of his earnest solicitude. The main object in founding the Kalyānt-simā appears to be to afford to the Priesthood of Rāmāññadēsa a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing *uposatha*, *upasampada*, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and indirectly to secure continuity in their apostolic succession from Mahinda, the Buddhist Apostle to Ceylon. It was regarded that the succession from Sona and Uttara, the missionaries to Suvannabhūmi, had been interrupted in Burma because of the violent political convulsions to which the country had been subjected. In the 11th century A. D., the Talaing Kingdom of Thatōn was conquered by Anuruddha or Anawratazaw, King of Pagan; and two centuries later, the Pagan Monarchy was, in its turn, overthrown by three Shan brothers, who availed themselves of the dismemberment of the Burmese Empire caused by a Chinese invasion in 1284 A.D. while the Upper valley of the Irrawaddy was passing through troublous times, the Talaings of the lower country had been fighting among themselves after they had regained their independence from subjection to Burma. Thus, during the four centuries that preceded the succession of Dharmacheti, Burma had scarcely enjoyed peace for any great length of time, and matters appertaining to the Buddhist Religion had not been efficiently supervised or regulated.

The Kalyāṇi-simā derives its name from the fact that it was consecrated by the Talaing priests, who had received afresh their *upasampada* ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, who were the spiritual successors of Mahinda, on the Kalyāṇi river near Colombo. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Buddhist priests from all parts of Burma, from Ceylon and Siam, flocked to it to receive their *upasampada* ordination. Even at the present day, priests whose ordination was of doubtful validity, would suffer themselves to be re-ordained in it.

The Kalyāṇi Inscription is situated at Zaingganaing, the western suburb of the town of Pegu. It comprises ten stone slabs covered with writing on both sides and are arranged in a row. Owing either to the vandalism of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, who, for ten years, held supreme power in Pegu at the beginning of the 17th century A.D., or to the insensate fury of Alompra's soldiery, who plundered Pegu in 1757 A.D., all of them are more or less broken; but the fragments, which are lying scattered about, can easily be restored. When whole, their average dimensions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. There are 70 lines of text to each face, and three letters to an inch. The language of the first three stones is Pāli, and that of the rest is Talaing, the latter being the translatory language of the Pāli text.

I cannot conclude without adverting to the absolute silence of this epigraph regarding the celebrated Buddhist divine Buddhaghosa, the author of the *Visuddhimagga* and *Atthasālinī*, and the Apostle who is reputed to have brought a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon to Thatōn in the 5th century A.D. If the story about Buddhaghosa's advent to Thatōn be historically true, the event would have been considered to be an important epoch and would certainly have been mentioned in this inscription, which gives a résumé of the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, and which was erected by a King, who was called from the cloister to the throne, and to whom every kind of information was accessible. Considering that the identification with the Suvannabhūmi of the ancients has been urged in favour of three countries, namely, Rāmaññadēsa, the Malay Peninsula, and Cambodia, in all of which gold is found, one cannot help being sceptical as to the historical accuracy of the account relating to the mission of Buddhaghosa to Thatōn. Such scepticism becomes

somewhat confirmed, when it is borne in mind that there is no palæographical affinity between the Talaing and Sinhalese alphabets, and when Cambodian writers affirm that the great divine came to *their* country (*vide* Bowring's *Kingdom and People of Siam*, volume I, page 36).

BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA.

TRANSLATIONS of this inscription have already been published at pages 208—210 of Rajendralala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, and at page 76 of Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There is some controversy as to the correct reading of the dates. The initial date is undoubtedly 657, which corresponds to 1295 A.D., and the final date 660, which is equivalent to 1298 A.D. During the period indicated by these two dates, the Burmese empire of Pagan was in the throes of a Chinese invasion. In 1284, Pagan had been occupied by the Chinese. In 1298 A.D., **Kyawzwa**, the titular king, had been dethroned by three **Shan** brothers, who bore divided rule at the new capitals of **Myinzaing**, **Metkaya**, and **Pinle** in the Kyaukse district. Two years later, the **Chinese** again invaded **Myinzaing**. In these circumstances, the only inference is that the last repairs to the **Mahābodhi Temple** alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a **king of Arakan**.

There is, however, some difficulty in the identification of the personages mentioned in the inscription. **Mahāthera Pinthagugyi** cannot be identified with certainty. **Pinthagugyi** or the "**great Pinthagu**" is a title, designation or *sobriquet*, rather than a personal name, and is derived from the Pāli word *pamsukulika*, "one who obtains the materials for his clothing from a dust-heap or a cemetery." Such a title was usually conferred on a Buddhist monk of exceptional sanctity and austerity, who had secured the esteem and admiration of the laity. There was such a celebrated Buddhist monk at Pagan during the reign of **Narapatiſithu** (1167—1204 A.D.).

Thadomin sounds like an Arakanese title of a king or prince. It does not occur in the chronological lists appended to Phayre's *History of Burma*.

King Sinbyuthakin is called in the inscription *Sinbyu-thikkin Trā Mingyi*. The first part means "the Lord of the White Elephant," and the second "Dhammarāja." Here,

again, the expression is a common regal title and not a personal name.

Siridhammarājaguru is the title of a learned monk. All royal preceptors are called "Dhammarājaguru," or the King's guru."

Sirikassapa and **Varavasi** are ordinary names of Buddhist monks.

A great deal of interest centres round the designation "**Pyu-ta-thein-min**," which appears as "Pu-ta thin min" in lines 10-11 of the inscription below. I am inclined to identify this personage with the "King Sinbyuthikhin" mentioned in the same inscription, and both with Meng-di, No. 9 of the "Dynasty of the City Loung-Kyet" at page 301 of Phayre's *History of Burma*. This king reigned from 1279 to 1385, and is described as a "son of Meng-bhi-lu." There are two "Meng-bhi-lus," namely, No. 7 of the same dynasty, who reigned from 1272 to 1276 A.D., and No. 12 of the "dynasty of Ping-tsa City," who ruled from 1075 to 1078 A.D. (page 299, *ibid*). The latter king was driven out from his kingdom by a usurper, and his son and heir, **Mengre Baya**, sought refuge at the Court of **Kyanzittha, king of Pagan**. Mengre Baya died leaving a son called **Letyamengnan**. This Arakanese prince was restored to his ancestral throne by **Alaungsithu**, Kyanzittha's grandson and successor, in 1103 A.D., with the aid of 100,000 Pyus and 100,000 Talaings. Hence the fortunate prince is known in history as "Pyu-ta-thein-min," or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus" (*vide* page 40, *ibid*). It is most probable that **Meng-di**, during whose reign the inscription was set up at Bodh-Gaya, was a descendant of Letyamengnan and was also called a "Pyu-ta-thein-min."

On the same page, Phayre says: "Alaungsithu caused the Buddhist temple at Gaya to be repaired." I am inclined to think that, on that occasion, the King of Pagan deputed the *Mahāthera* **Pinthagugyi** to superintend the work, and that he required his *protégé*, Letyamengnan, to render the necessary assistance in this work of merit. It would then appear that the "Thadomin" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of Letyamengnan, the Prince, who first bore the title of "Pyu-ta-thein-min" or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus."

It is quite possible that one of the conditions of Letyamengnan's restoration to the Arakanese throne was that, for the accumulation of merit of **Alaungsithu**, his suzerain and benefactor, he and his descendants were to render material

assistance in the repair and maintenance of the temple at Bodh-Gaya. Viewed in this light, the chronology of the inscription and the *raison d'être* of the proceedings recorded therein become clear, reasonable, and logical.

TEXT.

1 Purhāthikhin thāhanā 218 lunlie-pyithaw akhāhnaik sambuteik kyungo asoyathaw Si-

2 ridhammāsoka myithaw Mingyi seti shatthaung 4 daung aphaw hnaik

3 sumtaw phonpierā Pāyātha i-tango akhā liemyin pyet

4 rwe myinthaw thikhin Pinthakūgyi tayauk. Thopyi tachet py-

5 etkheragā Thadomin pyu-i. Thopyi(y) tachety pyetkhedon

6 ragā Sinbyuthikhin Trā Mingyi mimi kosa sira siri-dhamma-

7 rājakurugo siytaw mulatthaw akhāhnaik pā-la-

8 t thaw tabethā Sirikassapasa thi lōk antha utsā hilyet

9 malōk radat ragā Varavāsi thikhin therago sum kham siyragā Pu-

10 tathin min hu-i lok siykāmu thikhin nge ko myatky-The(rā) ko

11 akhwin puragā Sakarac 657 khu pyatholazan 10 rak thaukkyaniy pyudōn-i

12 Sakarac 660 Tazaungmonlazan 8 rak tahninganu ni(y) hla-sathaw

13 takhunkukā takhunpyādoko le pusao-i. Thinbōk thaung simi

14 thaungdo akyein myaswa hlin pusao-i. Thāthami hu mat hrwe thungè 2

15 yauk shwepan ngwepan khwet paso swèthaw padetha le pu-

16 sao-i. Akhākhapthein hlin thinbōkwut mapyat tisinthaw

17 kraung mrie kyun nwado ko le way ruy hlōkhe. I ngā pyu

18 thaw kaunghmugā Nippān pyitsi athauk apin phyitchin tha-

19 te. Yat (meik) ti purhāthikkin letthet hlin rahandāsu lothate.

TRANSLATION.

1 When 218 years of the era of the Religion of the Lord Buddha had passed away, Siridhammasoka, the Ruler of Jambudipa,

2 built 84,000 chaityas, one of which was situated on the site,

3 where the Buddha took a meal (of rice porridge offered by Sujāta before attaining Enlightenment). This shrine, owing to the effluxion of time, fell into ruin,

4 and was repaired by the Mahāthera Pinthagugyi. Subsequently,

5 it was repaired by Thadomin. It again fell into disrepair,

6 and King Sinbyuthikhin deputed the Royal Preceptor,

7 Siridhammarajaguru, to undertake the work of repair

8 Sirikassapa, the disciple of the Preceptor, had sufficient funds,

9 but could not take the work in hand (owing, probably, to the absence of skilled artisans)—

10 He, therefore, sent Varavasi, a junior Thera,

11 to King Putathin Min, who complied with the solicitation for assistance.

12 The work of repair was begun on Friday, the 10th, waxing of Pyatho 657 B. E. (January 1296 A.D.),

13 and was completed on Sunday, the 8th waxing of Tazaungmon 660 B.E. (November 1298 A.D.)

14 The following offerings were dedicated to the shrine: flags and streamers, 1,000 bowls of rice and 1,000 lamps (for several times), 2 boys in the place of the donor's own children,

15 and gold and silver flowers and cloth hung on bamboo framework.

16 In order to provide for the daily offering of rice at the shrine, at all times,

17 land, slaves, and cattle were purchased and likewise dedicated. May this

18 meritorious deed of mine lead me on to Nirvāṇa!

19 May I become a disciple of Metteyya, the coming Buddha

ANCIENT SITES.

THE remains of city walls and masonry structures have been utilised by contractors, as at Prome and Amarapura. As it is essential to prevent the obliteration of traces of historical and architectural evidence, pending the issue of rules regulating excavation under the provisions of section 20 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, VII of 1904, the Subdivisional Officers, Township Officers, and Village Headmen concerned have been requested through the district officers, to prohibit digging for treasure, etc, by *pôngyis* and other unauthorised persons in the following localities which possess an archaeological or historical interest :—

District.	Ancient sites.
Prome	... Yathemyo.
Toungoo	... { Kyakat-wara. Dinnyawadi. Zeyawadi. Ketunadi.
Thatôn	... { The walled area, whose centre is the Shwezayan Pagoda.
Tavoy	... { Mokti myohaung. Nyaung-yan-myohaung. Myohaung near the Shin Thalun Pagoda.
Pegu	... Zaingganaing.
Magwe	... Peikthanomyo.
Shwebo	... Halingyi.
Ruby Mines	... Tagaung.
Kyauksè	... { Myinzaing. Metkaya. Pinlè. Sheingyawmyo. Shin-yèmyo. Tadeikamyo.

MAINGDAING NEAR TAGAUNG.

At page 128, Volume II, Part II, of the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, is an account of Maingdaing, an extensive agricultural tract of country, which is 27 miles to the east of Tagaung. It was, at one time, the granary of the upper

reaches of the Irrawaddy. A hundred years ago, it had about 42,000 houses, but now, it has only 38. I saw traces of rice fields and orchards, and remains of pagodas and monasteries, which bespeak the wealth and prosperity of the locality in former days. I inspected a ruined monastery called the Ledatkyang. Four huge brick staircases still remain, and each of the big teak posts measures about 8 feet in circumference. It appears that Maingdaing was completely destroyed in 1808 A.D., in the following circumstances. In that year, King Bodawpaya attacked Siam, was defeated, and had to retreat. His exchequer was empty, and he had no money to pay his troops. He, therefore, authorised his military captains and soldiers to recoup themselves by plundering towns and villages all over his kingdom. As Maingdaing was prosperous in those days they swarmed to it, devastated the villages and decimated the population. As Government possesses in Maingdaing an unexploited mine of wealth, I have made certain suggestions, including that regarding the construction of a light railway from Tagaung to Maingdaing, for its repopulation and rehabilitation in wealth and prosperity.

NOTABLE MONUMENTS OF BURMA.

(a) BEBÈ AND BAWBAWGYI AT HMAWZA NEAR PROME.

At Hmawza in the Prome District, attention was devoted to the conservation of two monuments, namely, the Bèbè and the Bawbawgyi Pagodas. The former enshrines a sculptured stone with a legend in an unknown script of very high antiquity, and it is extremely desirable to protect and preserve it. The language of the inscription is supposed to be Pyu, which survived at Pagan till the 11th century A.D.; but the record itself may be referred to the 7th century, if not earlier. A considerable amount of damage was done to the Bèbè pagoda during the last rains. The bricks from the lower part of the *Sikhara* and from the terraces and part of the wall, on the west face, fell down; and they were replaced. The bricks composing the arched dome below the *Sikhara* were set in mud mortar. In order to reduce the superincumbent weight to a minimum and to prevent the future settlement of the building, the contents of the core of the *Sikhara* were scooped out, thereby converting it into a water-tight shell or cone. In restoring the terraces, replicas were made of the models, which exist on the north face of the pagoda. The colour of the work was toned

down, so as to be in harmony with that of the old. The upper part of the eastern face had settled down although the foundation remained undisturbed. The bricks, which fell out of position, were carefully replaced and set in lime mortar. The domical roof of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda was rendered watertight with cement plaster; and, in repairing the body of the Pagoda, in order to produce cohesion between the new work and the old, and to neutralize the force of gravitation, Mr. W. G. Davie, Executive Engineer, Tharrawaddy Division, who was in charge of the works, issued instructions for the use of header bricks. To the north-east of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda are a stone staircase and a sculptured stone representing the Buddha in the act of taking the rice porridge offered by Sujātā before attaining enlightenment. As there were seven attitudes of the Buddha around the Bodhi Tree, and, as the sculpture represents the seventh or final attitude, I directed a search to be made of the six remaining sites, which were found in the vicinity. In the course of an excavation made near the stone sculpture, exquisitely shaped terra-cotta plaques depicting various animals and a trident have been found, in addition to a clay seal bearing the *linga* on its obverse face. These are strong evidences of the Siva cult. The question arises as to whether the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, which is now 153 feet high and 240 in circumference, originally represented the *linga*, and whether, when Saivism was absorbed or subverted by Buddhism, it was transformed into a symbol for the Bodhi Tree. The shape of the Bawbawgyi is undoubtedly that of a *stupa*, which approximates more to a Turanian tumulus than to a domical Indian or Sinhalese *dagoba*. Indeed, Fergusson says:—"Not only out of doors but in the earliest caves, the forms of *dagobas* are always rounded; and no example of a straight-lined cone covering a *stupa* has yet been discovered."

No replica of this Burmese Pagoda appears to be found elsewhere, and its architecture deserves a careful and minute study.

(b) STONE-CARVING IN MONUMENTS AT PAGAN.

At Pagan, both sculpture and architecture were mainly derived from Southern India, through Thatōn, which was conquered by Anawrata in the eleventh century. This conquest is a great land-mark in Burmese history. It resulted not only

* Vide page 65, Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, second edition, volume I.

in the expansion and consolidation of Burmese dominion, but also in an outburst of architectural energy, the introduction of the Southern School of Buddhism, and the religious and commercial intercourse with Southern India and Ceylon, which infused a new spirit into the Burmese nation. The most celebrated buildings were erected between 1057 and 1284 A.D., i.e., between the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata and the invasion of Pagan by Kublai Khan. The period, during which stone sculpture flourished is even more limited, as it extended from 1057 to 1234 A. D. The earliest specimen of stone-carving is found in the Theinpaya at Myinpagan, one of the numerous ordination halls consecrated by Anawrata (1059 A. D.), and the latest in the Setkudaik, a lecture hall, built in 1234 A.D. by Kyazwa Mingyi, who abdicated his throne in favour of his son, in order to devote himself to study and instructing others in the Buddhist scriptures. As falling between these two dates, may be mentioned the Nānpaya, erected in 1059 A. D., by Manuha, the last King of the Talaings, whose sculpture, both on the exterior and interior, is unique; the Ananda Temple, built in 1090 A. D., by Kyanzittha, which still remains the grandest religious edifice in Burma, and the greatest storehouse of statuary in stone; and the Kyaukku Temple, built in 1188 A. D., by Narapatisithu against the face of a ravine, on the jambs of whose entrance are carved, in low relief, most interesting figures illustrating Buddhist cosmogony.

(c) STONE SCULPTURES IN THE ANANDA.

The Ananda Pagoda is likewise adorned with eighty pieces of stone sculptures of exquisite workmanship depicting scenes in the life of Gotama Buddha from his conception and birth to his *Nirvāṇa*. The pose, contour, and drapery of the figures are distinctly Indian, and the architects employed must have been foreigners.

(d) TERRA COTTA TILES AT PAGAN.

Two kinds of terra cotta tiles have been found at Pagan adorning the basements and corridors of Pagodas. They illustrate scenes in the life of Gotama Buddha and during his previous births, and serve as sermons in baked clay exhorting the laity to follow, in both worldly and spiritual matters, in the footsteps of the Buddha, who is looked upon as the highest type of humanity. In the Shwezigôn and Ananda, the tiles are enamelled in a green colour, while those decorating the ambulatory passages of the Petleik are of red baked clay. All

these three shrines belong to the 11th century A.D. Chinese influence is traceable in the former two, and the Petleik plaques, which are of a better technique, may be ascribed to a South-Indian origin. The arrangement of the tiles is still well preserved in the Ananda, and may be described as follows :—

Position.			Description.	Number.
Basement	...	...	Hosts of <i>Māra</i> ...	276
Basement	...	...	Disciples of Buddha ...	276
First storey	...	...	Scenes in 537 <i>Jātakas</i> ...	537
Second, Third, and Fourth storeys	...	...	Scenes in the ten <i>Jātakas</i> beginning with the <i>Temiya</i> and ending with the <i>Vessantara Jataka</i> ...	383
			Total ...	1,472

(e) NGA KYWENADAUNG PAGODA.

The architecture of this Pagoda is unique, and bespeaks its ancient origin. It probably ante-dates the introduction of the Southern School of Buddhism into Pagan in the eleventh century A.D. It is bulbous in shape, and is crowned by a small chamber which is now roofless. The striking peculiarity about this shrine is that its face bricks were moulded to size, were well finished and well baked, and dipped in a kind of green glaze, which cannot now be reproduced. It was decided not to restore the roof of the *sanctum*, because the Director-General emphasized "on the importance of not adding, in the course of repairing a building, any feature to it which does not actually exist at the time when repairs are first taken in hand, however strong the presumption may be that it originally existed, before the structure fell into decay." Much grouting was done; the basement was repaired; and the whole building was made water-tight as far as possible, so as to secure to it a further term of longevity.

(f) MINGALAZEDI PAGODA.

The Mingalazedi Pagoda was built by Tayōkpyemin (the king who fled from the Chinese) in 1268 A.D., and indicates the high water-mark of Burmese religious architecture at Pagan. The Burmese empire was subverted by the Mongols under Kublai Khan in 1284 A.D. It was shattered

to pieces and never recovered its former grandeur and magnificence. A stone inscription found within the walls of the Pagoda records the following: "On Sunday, the 6th waxing of Tabaung 630 *Sakkarāj* (1269 A.D., King Narathihapade (Tayōkpyemin) who is the supreme commander of the vast army of thirty-six million soldiers, and *who is the consumer of three hundred dishes of curry daily*, being desirous of attaining the bliss of *Nirvāṇa*, erected a pagoda * * * " An empire under the rule of a *gourmand* of such a stupendous type certainly deserved to be shattered and torn to pieces. The Pagoda stands on a raised platform, and its triple terraces are adorned with green enamelled terra-cotta plaques depicting scenes in the *Jātaka* stories. The small subsidiary shrines at the corners of the third terrace are entirely covered with green glazed tiles. The bricks, with which the retaining walls are built, are stamped with Talaing letters, and the dimensions of each are 18 inches by 9 inches by 3 inches. Efforts were made to procure a complete set of the inscribed bricks, without dismantling any portion of the walls, but they proved to be fruitless. The thick jungle found within the precincts and the *débris* were cleared; both the pagoda and the walls were made water-tight; and the steps facing the east were repaired. The shrine is still an object of worship, and the iron *ti* now crowning it was placed by the villagers of Pagan in 1908. Under the Burmese *régime*, the crowning, by commoners, of a pagoda built by a royal personage, would be considered to be high treason, and the concession of this privilege is now greatly appreciated throughout the Province.

(g) REPAIRS TO SEINNYET PAGODA.

Situated half-way between the villages of Myinpagan and Thiipyitsaya in the Pagan Township, which were, at one time, centres of Talaing and Indian influence, the Seinnyet Pagoda, a cylindrical structure of the 11th century, represents a distinct stage in the development of Buddhist religious architecture in Burma. A detailed examination of it indicates its mixed origin in which the Chinese element preponderates. Unlike the Shwesandaw Pagoda at Pagan and the Sinbyumè Paya at Mingun, each of which has five receding terraces representing the five-fold division of Mount Meru, it rests on a triple square basement, which symbolises the abode of the four *Mahārājās*, or Guardian Spirits of the world. At each corner of the first terrace is a small *chaitya* resting on a high plinth. Each corner of the second terrace is decorated by an ornament which looks

like a flower-vase or relic-casket, and which is guarded by the figure of a lion with distinctly Chinese features; while the corresponding decoration on the third terrace is a stunted *chaitya* guarded by the figure of an animal, whose remains indicate it to be a winged dragon. All the three terraces are fringed with miniature battlements, and are embellished with mouldings in brick and plaster, which are a characteristic feature of the basement of all Burmese religious and ceremonial structures. Then comes the octagonal band encircling the building, which represents the *Tushita* heaven, the abode of all Bodhisats or Buddhas in embryo; but the eight gods, Indra, Agni, and others, each of whom protects a point of the compass, are absent. The next tier is a circular moulding, which the Burmans call the "Kyiwaing" or circular band of copper, but which, the Chinese say, represents the highest empyrean, where Buddhas dwell after fulfilling their high mission on earth. Next succeeds the "Kaunglaungbôn" or bell-shaped dome near whose rim is a circle of small battlements, surmounted by a double band of lotus petals. The dome is bisected by a bold moulding and to the upper fringe of the lower half is attached a row of ogres disgorging chaplets of pearls, a form of ornamentation which is very common in Tibet. Right across the bisectional moulding are small niches facing the cardinal points, which are crowned by miniature structures resembling the Temple at Bodhgaya. In each niche sits enshrined a small figure of a Buddha of exquisite proportions in a preaching attitude. The figures represent Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gotama. In China, Metteyya or Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah to come, is acknowledged and adored; but at the present time he has no votaries in Burma. The upper half of the dome is decorated with a band of lotus petals and is surmounted by a foliated capital, which takes the place of a "dhātu-gabbha" or relic-chamber in a Sinhalese Pagoda. The whole structure is crowned by a *sikhara* or gradually attenuated spire with eleven concentric circles.

(A) NANPAYA TEMPLE.

The best specimen of stone architecture at Pagan, if not in the whole province, is the Nanpaya, erected in 1059 A. D. by Manuha, the last king of the Talaings. The wealth of the ornamentation lies in the frieze below the cornice, the corners of the building and the frieze at the basement. The sculptor's art reaches its climax in the decoration of the four pillars flanking the sanctuary in the main building. On the sides of

each pillar is carved the four-faced Brahma, the creator of the universe, holding lotus flowers in each hand. The anatomy of the figure and its facial expression are perfect. The broad forehead, the firm mouth, the thin lips, and the well-developed chin indicate high intellectual power.

(4) NAGAYON PAGODA.

The Nagayôn Pagoda, built by Kyanzittha in 1064 A. D., marks an intermediate stage in the development of Indo-Burmese architecture, which reaches its culminating point in the Ananda Temple. With its portico and aisles, and its steeple-like *sikhāra*, it looks, from a distance, somewhat like a mediæval cathedral. The fineness of the brickwork and the absence of the slightest interstices between the different layers of brick, aided, no doubt, by the remarkable dryness of the climate, have kept this as well as other equally important buildings at Pagan, in a fairly good condition. In repairing the Pagoda, the main work consisted in renovating the terrace and making it water-tight, in grouting all cracks, after the removal of unsound portions of brickwork and plaster, in edging the old plaster carefully, and in restoring the inner circuit wall:

(5) SULAMNAI PAGODA.

The Sulamani Pagoda is a five-storied building erected by King Narapatisithu in 1183 A. D., and is ornamented with frescoes depicting the manners and customs of a bygone age. In the torrid heat of Pagan, it was apparently intended to serve as a combination of a *stāpa* and *vihāra*, that is to say, to be a chapel or pagoda as well as a monastery. No doubt, it was also intended to be a self-contained institution, like the ancient colleges of Europe, because, in its immediate vicinity, traces exist of cloistered cells, lecture halls, chapels, the residence of the Master or Abbot, an ordination hall, a library and a tank for the performance of ablutions. The building has much weathered, but the brickwork, strengthened by bond-stones, is still in a sound condition, in spite of the absence of plaster or cement on the outside. The conservation work done is more of the nature of preservation than restoration. The stone paving was repaired, cracks in the arches were cut out and rebuilt; all loose plaster was removed carefully, the sound portions being edged to arrest further decay. Extreme care was taken not to injure any of the valuable frescoes. The steep portions of the stairways were eased out. All

damaged brick-work was renewed; and the *sikhāra* surmounting the whole building as well as the small pagodas at the corners were repaired and made water-tight.

(k) SAPADA PAGODA.

The Sapada Pagoda constitutes a land-mark in the history of Buddhism as it commemorates the religious intercourse between Burma and Ceylon in the 12th century A. D. It was built by Sapada, a native of Bassein, who had been ordained a Buddhist monk in Ceylon, and who had founded a sect on his return to Pagan. The Pagoda was constructed after the model of a Singhalese shrine, and is the prototype of similar structures in the province. It stands on a raised earthen platform, which is protected by an ornamental retaining wall, measuring 88 feet square. Its form differs from the cylindrical-shaped Pagoda of the ordinary Burmese type, in that a square block of masonry, commonly called the "*dhātu-gabbha*," or relic-chamber, intervenes between the *sikhāra* and the bell-shaped dome. The conservation work carried out by the Public Works Department was very well done. The grouting and pointing were neatly finished, and the mouldings in plaster were correctly reproduced.

(l) KYAUKKU TEMPLE.

The Kyaukku-*Onhmin* or temple is a remarkable building constructed partly of stone and partly of brick. It was erected by Narapatisithu in 1188 A.D., and consists of three terraces built against the precipitous rock-bound face of a ravine. Its stone carving is in a fair state of preservation, and represents, in a narrow compass, the complete ascendancy achieved by the Buddhist faith over Brahmanism. Figures with four faces or four hands, from the Hindu Pantheon, no longer appear, and even Indra, the powerful god of the sky, becomes the Recording Angel of Buddhism, and is made to kneel, holding offerings of flowers, while Brahma, the Creator of the Universe and the Chief of the Triad, assumes the rôle of a humble disciple of the Buddha. The disrepair was mainly on the western face of the building, where the brick-work had been forced out of its original position owing to settlement and the leakage of rain-water. As it was found necessary to support the superstructure, the whole of the basement wall of the main portico, together with its moulding in stone, was restored as approximately as possible to its original condition. The terraces were all repaired with concrete, and

a plain finish was given to the battlement walls. On the eastern side of the portico, an old door, which had been bricked up, was re-opened in order to improve the lighting of the interior. By the removal of obstructions, the upper rooms were lighted and ventilated. Although the repairs were comparatively extensive, efforts were successfully made to render them inconspicuous.

(m) PILLARS OF VICTORY AT PEGU.

On the Pegu-Thanatpin road two octagonal granite pillars, measuring about 11 and 5 feet, respectively, were found and one of them has been re-erected on a masonry plinth in the compound of the district court at Pegu. They may be identified with the *Jayastambha* or Pillars of Victory set up by Rājendra Chola I., who overran Pegu in 1025-1027 A. D., that is to say, a few years before the conquest of Thaton by Anawrata, King of Pagan. In the native chronicles, nothing is mentioned of Pegu for a period of 500 years from the 8th to the 13th centuries A. D., nor is there any reference to it during the Burmese invasion of the Talaing country by Anawrata. This omission can only be explained by its subjection to foreign rule, and the discovery of these two pillars, provided that the above identification is correct, fills up a gap in the Talaing records. There is a conspiracy of silence among native historians not to refer to anything relating to the invasion of their country by South Indians or other foreigners. Such silence appears to have been somewhat inexplicable to Sir Arthur Phayre, who attempts to explain it as follows (pages 31-32 of his *History of Burma*).

"In the appendix to this volume will be found a list of the first dynasty of the Kings of Pegu as entered in the Talaing chronicles. But that dynasty extends only to the year A.D. 781, when the reign of King Titha or Tissa came to a close. From that time until the conquest of Pegu by Anawrahta, that is, for about two hundred and sixty-nine years, no events are recorded in the Talaing annals. The conquest by the King of Pagan is not to be found therein. From indications in the Talaing annals as to the reigns of King Tissa and his predecessor, it appears probable that, for a long period, the country was disturbed by religious struggles, Brahmanical and Buddhist votaries contending for the mastery. Later chronicles have been unwilling to refer to the troubles and the degradation of their country caused by heretical disturbance and

foreign rule, so that the course of events can only be conjectured. Coins or medals bearing Hindu symbols which have been found and which no doubt were struck in Pegu, probably belong to this period, and lend support to the conclusion as to events which the native chroniclers have obscured or suppressed. Excepting a few vague sentences, no notice is taken in the Talaing chronicles of the conquest by Anoahta. Thus the native annals of Pegu, from the period when pure Buddhism was for a time restored under King Tissa, until the fall of the Pagan monarchy, near the close of the thirteenth century, a period of about 500 years, are almost a blank."

(a) SANDAMANI PAGODA, MANDALAY.

In the East generally, a royal personage is regarded as a manifestation of the divine afflatus, and his tomb serves as a place of pilgrimage. The maintenance of the sacrosanct character of a ruling house is in an inverse ratio to the development of political institutions. Where republicanism prevails, as in France and the United States of America, the office of the Head of the State is respected while his person merges in the common population. Where autocracy prevails, as in Russia and China, and to a certain extent, in Japan and Siam, the Sovereign assumes the rôle of vicegerent of Heaven on earth. Burma forms no exception to the rule and falls under the same category as her neighbours, Siam and China. The Sandamani Pagoda, whose conservation has been sanctioned by the Local Government, is the tomb of the Crown Prince of Mindôn and three other princes, who were murdered in the rebellion of 1868. An annual festival is held in its honour in October of each year, which is largely attended by the adherents and descendants of the Crown Prince, who was not only the mainstay of his brother Mindôn, in his capacity of warrior, statesman, and reformer, but was one of the few vigorous and stimulating personalities of modern Burmese history. The process of the deification of heroes is still extant in Burma, and the Sandamani Pagoda is a tribute paid to hero-worship.

(c) KYAUKTAWGYI PAGODA, AMARAPURA.

The majority of the conservation works undertaken during the year 1907-08 presented no special features of architectural interest, but the Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi Pagoda of Amarapura and the Nanpaya Temple of Pagan deserve some notice. The former was built, in 1847 A.D., by King Pagan,

the immediate predecessor of Mindôn Min. In constructing this shrine, the model taken was the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan. There was an interval of a little more than seven centuries and a half between the building of the two temples, and the achievement must be pronounced to be a fair success. The prototype is awe-inspiring by the chastity of its design and the simplicity of its grandeur, while one's religious sense is bewildered by the extraordinary wealth of detail and the amount of fantastic ornamentation lavished on the later edifice. In the 19th century, the Burmans had apparently forgotten much of their knowledge of architecture in brick and stone, and had been accustomed to build and carve in wood; hence one serious defect of the Amarapura Pagoda, which is conducive to its instability, is the use of wooden beams and joists in the interior aisles.

(p) PONDAPAYA, MINGUN.

The Pôndawpaya or the model of the well-known Mingun Pagoda, consists of a *sikhāra* surmounted by a miniature *stūpa* and resting on a square plinth of solid masonry, and appears to be a hybrid between the Shwezigôn and Ananda Pagodas of Pagan, which afford so many prototypes for Buddhist religious edifices throughout the country. It is adorned with all the appurtenances of a finished place of worship, namely, circuit walls, stair-cases, leogryphs, ornamented arches, etc. The following comparison between the known dimensions of the two buildings will be of interest :—

	Mingun Pagoda		Pôndawpaya.	
	Ft.	Ins.	Ft.	Ins.
Height of masonry plinth ...	... 104	0	2	9
Length of one side ...	... 240	0	10	0
<i>Sikhāra</i> ...	... ..		6	7
Surmounting <i>stūpa</i> ...	... ..		6	0

The Mingun Pagoda was shattered by an earthquake in 1838 and Yule describes it, in his *Mission to the Court of Ava*, as a "perfect geological phenomenon."

(q) SHWEBO MUSEUM.

The Museum will house the interesting relics found in the relic-chamber of the Shwebawgyun Pagoda, which was built in 1763 A.D., by King Naungdawgyi, the eldest son of Alaungmya, the founder of the last Burmese dynasty, which was subverted by the British in 1885 A.D. The exhibits of the Museum re-awaken an interest in the foreign relations of Burma

in the 18th century. Ava was conquered by the Talaings in 1752 A.D.; Alompra proclaimed himself King in the following year; and for ten years, the Burmans and the Talaings were engaged in incessant fighting. In these wars, the belligerents were still armed with bows and arrows and firearms decided the fate of battles. These weapons of precision were supplied by the Agents of the English and French East India Companies, which, having made peace after an open war of five years in the Carnatic, transferred their rival aspirations to Burmese soil. The French had a factory at Syriam, and the British established themselves at Negrais and Bassein. The prescience of the latter in selecting the winning side in all disputes among native rulers in India and Burma, and the East generally, is truly remarkable, and is one of the chief contributory causes of the expansion of British dominion over-sea. The English supported the pretensions of Alompra, who was an upstart of no royal lineage, against the claims of the King of Pegu, who had unlimited resources at his disposal and, in the end, they were quite justified in their choice.

MEMORANDUM OF A TOUR IN PARTS OF THE AMHERST, SHWEGYIN, AND PEGU DISTRICTS.

IN pursuance of instructions, which were subsequently modified, that I should report on the amount of archæological work which remained to be done in the Province, I left Rangoon for Moulmein on the 5th December 1891. As it was my intention to explore the whole of the country which constituted the ancient Talaing kingdom of Rāmaññadesa, with special reference to the elucidation of the history of the places mentioned in the Kalyāṇī Inscription, I went down to Amherst by boat and returned to Moulmein by land. The Mun or Talaing language is still spoken in the villages between Amherst and Moulmein, and is still taught in monastic schools; but, owing to there being no grants-in-aid given for the encouragement of its study, it is not taught in lay schools. The Talaing language has an unique literature of its own; numbers of inscriptions are recorded in it; and certain questions relating to the ethnography, history, antiquities, and languages of the people inhabiting Burma, are awaiting solution, because Talaing literature is still a *terra incognita*. Considering that the study of the insignificant dialects of the Karen language, which has no indigenous literature, and

whose alphabet was invented by Doctor Wade, an American Missionary, in 1832, receives considerable encouragement, it would be well if the Education Department could see its way to recognize Talaing in the curriculum of studies in indigenous schools in those parts of the Tavoy, Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu districts, where it is still spoken and studied. This measure would, no doubt, be pleasing to the Talaings, and would be a token of gracious, although late, recognition of the services rendered by their fellow-countrymen to the British in the first and second Anglo-Burmese wars.

About 20 miles from Amherst is Wagarū, originally founded by King Wagarū near the close of the 13th century A.D. The site of the old city is now completely covered with jungle; but traces of its walls and moat still exist. It is said that its walls were of laterite and that images of the same material existed in the vicinity. But I saw neither the walls nor the images; apparently the laterite walls have served as road-metal to the contractors of the Public Works Department, and the images are hidden by jungle. I am not sure whether any excavations carried out at Wagarū would bring to light any inscriptions or objects of archaeological interest.

On the 11th December, Pagat was visited. There are caves of great historical interest in its neighbourhood. Pagat is the birth-place of Wagarū, who restored the Talaing monarchy after Rāmaññadesa had been subject to Burmese rule for over two centuries, and is full of historical associations. It was here that Dalaban, the 'Hereward the Wake' of the Talaings, utilized the strategic position of the place, and for long defied the Burmese forces of Alompra's son and immediate successor, Naungdawgyi. The caves are natural openings in hills of submarine limestone rock. Some of them are over 1,000 feet in height and have precipitous sides. It is reported that large boxes of Talaing palm-leaf manuscripts, which were originally hidden by patriotic Talaings to escape destruction from the ruthless hands of the Burmese conquerors, are decaying* in the sequestered parts of these caves. There are now few persons who can read and understand these

* Subsequently, I learnt from a priest of the Mahāyāna Kyauag at Kado that complete sets of Talaing manuscripts are being preserved in the Royal Libraries at Bangkok. It would be a good thing to obtain a set for the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. Perhaps, the British Consul could be moved to prefer a request to this effect to His Siamese Majesty.

The late Dr. Forchhammer succeeded in procuring a number of ancient Talaing manuscripts from the caves in the neighbourhood of Pagat. I understand some of them, if not all, are now lying in the Bernard Free Library.

manuscripts; but, whenever they shall have been interpreted by a trained scholar, they will throw a flood of light on Talaing history, and on the history of learned, religious, and commercial relations between Rāmaññadesa, Ceylon, and Southern India. They will also solve certain questions connected with Pāli and Sanskrit philology and literature.

Owing to want of time, only two caves, namely, the Kawgun and Pagat, could be visited. The former presents a splendid sight. Its precipitous side facing the Kawgun village is completely covered with painted terra cotta tablets arranged symmetrically in the form of terraces and spires. Inside the cave are lying images of various sizes in different stages of decay and ruin. They are found to be made of the following substances: lead, brass, wood, stone, brick, and lacquerware. The majority of them bespeak their antiquity as they differ from modern ones in the following particulars: the head is surmounted by a spiral truncated cone; the bristles of the hair are represented; the ears do not touch the shoulders; the forehead is prominent, but remarkably narrow; the eye-brows, eyes, and lips are the most prominent features of the face; the body is short and stout and the head is disproportionately big; the limbs are full and large; the sole of the right leg is not displayed.

No history is known to exist about these caves; nor is there any person, layman or priest, who can relate anything historically true about them. But, judging from the fact that Rāmaññadesa was subject to Cambodian rule from the 6th to the 10th century A. D., and again to Siamese rule in the 14th century, it may be safely inferred that most of the images are of Cambodian or Siamese origin. The general architectural effect of the cave and the resemblance of these images to those of Siam favour this view. A closer examination in detail, however, might reveal the fact that some of the images were dedicated to Brahmanical worship, which was favoured by the ancient Kings of Cambodia, that others are of Sinhalese or Dravidian origin, and that there is some relationship, historical, religious, and architectural, between the caves in the Amherst district and the Cave Temples of India. I brought away three small wooden images with legends conjectured to be in the Siamese character inscribed on their pedestals.

The Pagat cave was next visited. It contains nothing of interest. It is now the home of bats whose guano yields an annual revenue of Rs. 600. It seems to me that the contents

of this cave have been made away with in order to make room for the more valuable manure!

Near this cave is a monastery, now occupied by a priest from Upper Burma. Since the annexation, numbers of Buddhist priests from the upper province have settled down in this district. Owing to their reputed learning and their conversational powers, they are highly esteemed and are abundantly supplied with the necessities of life. The Talaing priests are, as a rule, somewhat lax in their observance of the precepts, *e. g.*, they are possessed of boats and landed estates, drive about in bullock-carts, drink tea in the evenings, and smoke cigars in public. Such a conduct is now being followed by the priests from Upper Burma, who appear to be imbued with the truth of the proverb: "When you are at Rome, act like the Romans."

The burden of supporting the priests, who do very little in return for their maintenance, and who idle away most of their time, because the educational work is better and more efficiently done by the lay schools, is indeed a heavy one. On an average about 100 houses support a *kyaung*, and every village that has any pretence to piety, must have a *kyaung* of its own. The standard of material comfort of the villagers, who maintain the *kyaung*, may be a low one, but the *pôngyi* is fed on the fat of the land.

On the 14th December, I visited Kawkareik, which is inhabited by Burmans, Talaings, Shans, Karens, and Taungthus. The Taungthus are an interesting people. They have a literature* of their own, and I obtained a copy of a poetical work called Suttanippan (Suttanibbāna or Nibbānasutta). The language of the Taungthus contains words bodily borrowed from the languages of the people by whom they are surrounded. The Taungthus resemble their congeners, the Karens, in physical appearance; their build is thick-set, and they have full, round, and heavy features. At Kawkareik the Taungthu language is purer than at Thatôn, although there have been many inter-marriages between the Taungthus and the Shans.

* My authority for this is the following extract of a note from a gentleman of the American Mission to Lieutenant Kownmarch:—

"The Taungthoos have a written language and books, and kyoings and priests. I have seen their books, and on the fall of Sebastopol I printed the Governor-General's proclamation for Lieutenant Burn, in Taungthoo, but I confess it was the first and only thing that was ever printed in Taungthoo."—Yule's *Mission to Ava*, Appendix M., page 383.

The meaning of the word 'Taungthu' is an *inhabitant of highlands* in contradistinction to the people of the lowlands. A similar distinction obtains in Cambodia, the ancient Kingdom of the Khmers (*vide* Mouhot's *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China, Cambodia and Laos*, page 24).

"Having a great taste for music, and being gifted with ears excessively fine, with them * originated the tam-tam, so prized among the neighbouring nations; and by uniting its sounds to those of a large drum, they obtain music tolerably harmonious. The art of writing is unknown to them; and as they necessarily lead a wandering life, they seem to have lost nearly all traditions of the past. The only information I could extract from their oldest chief was, that far beyond the chain of mountains which crosses the country from north to south are other *people of the high country*—such is the name they give themselves; that of *savage* wounds them greatly—that they have many relations there, and they even cite names of villages or hamlets as far as the provinces occupied by the Annamite invaders. Their practice is to bury their dead."

The above description would, with slight modifications and with the exception of the part relating to their ignorance of the art of writing, answer very well for that of the Taungthus.

The Taungthus call themselves Pha-o, *ancient fathers*, and have a tradition that large numbers of them emigrated years ago from their original seat of Thatôn to a State of the same name in the Shan country. Since then they have borrowed largely from Shan literature: in fact, their books, most of which have been translated from Shan, contain a large admixture of Shan words.

The Taungthu alphabet appears to have a closer affinity to that of the Talaings or the Burmans rather than to that of the Shans as it recognises the media letters, which are absent in Shan. The one peculiarity deserving of notice in the pronunciation of the letters is, the Indian sound accorded to the letters, of the Palatal class, *e.g.*, *c* is pronounced *ch* and not *ts* as the Thibetans, Burmans, or Talaings would. This is a remarkable fact showing the probability of the Taungthus having received their alphabet direct from Indian colonists or the curious incident of the capacity of a monosyllabic language to assimilate towards an Aryan alphabet.

The Taungthu language, as evidenced by the comparative

* Savages to the east of Cambodia called by the Cambodians their elder brothers.

vocabulary shown below, has a closer affinity to Burmese than to Shan or Talaing—

Taungthu.	Burmese.	Meaning
Ta-pá*	Ta, tit	One.
Ni-pá	Itit	Two.
Sên-pá	Thôn :	Three.
Lit-pá	Lo :	Four.
Ngat-pá	Ngá :	Five.
Sô-pá	Chauk	Six.
Nit-pá	Klunhit	Seven.
Sôt-pá	Shit	Eight.
Kut-pá	Ko :	Nine.
Tachî : †	Tasô	Ten.
Mî : ‡	Ne	Sun.
Lâ	La	Moon.
Châ	Kyâ	Star.
Phâ	Pha	Father.
Me :	Mi	Mother.
Lô	Lô	Man.

As I had to conduct personally the Burmese portion of the examination for Myoókships held by the Educational Syndicate, I returned to Rangoon on the 19th and went back to Moulmein on the 26th December.

On the 28th, I started for Thatôn and reached it on the same day.

Thatôn has been identified by Burmese and Talaing writers as the *Suvannabhūmi* of the Buddhist books, and the *Aurea Regio* of Ptolemy and others. It is bounded on the east by the Thinganeik range, which is about 12 miles long, and trends from north to south. On the west is an immense rice plain, which is about 15 miles in breadth, and beyond that is the sea. In the rainy season the plain is covered by water and navigation by boat is possible.

According to a Talaing tradition, Thatôn was founded by Siharājā, a contemporary of Gotama Buddha. In choosing the site of the new city he consulted his foster-father, the

* Pá denotes an individual unit. Its cognate form pronounced with the heavy tone is employed as a numerative in Burmese.

† Ch in Taungthu is interchangeable with s in Burmese.

‡ This word means fire in Burmese; but the primitive conception of the sun as the source of heat may have possibly existed.

: The double dots denote that the word to which they are affixed should be pronounced with the heavy tone.

Rishi of Zingyaik, and was advised to select a spot where gold was found, and to which a large population would be attracted in a short time. The place, where the Jubilee Memorial fountain erected in 1888 is now playing, is still pointed out as the site of the palace of Siharāja and Manuhā, the first and last kings of Thatōn. Close by is the gold-bearing stream of Shwegyaung San, which is perennial and issues from the Thinganeik (Singanika) hill. Gold is still worked by isolated individuals at the beginning and close of the rainy season, but the quantities obtained are not commensurate with the amount of labour involved.

There are five Talaing inscriptions at Thatōn: four in the enclosure of the Shwezāyan pagoda, and the remaining one under a banyan tree at Nyaungwaing. Their palæography indicates that their age is about 400 years.

Three brick buildings near the Shwezāyan pagoda are known as the libraries whence Anawratzaw, King of Pagan, is said to have removed the "five elephant-loads of Buddhist scriptures" in 1057 A.D.

The terra cotta tablets inserted in niches in the Thagyapaya within the same enclosure are of considerable interest. Most of them have been destroyed, and the meaning of the representations is not accurately understood. But they appear to indicate that the people, whoever they were, who constructed these tablets undoubtedly professed Brahmanism or Hinduism, and that they had attained to some degree of civilization. Siva with his trident is the predominant figure; conveyances are drawn by single ponies, and women wear their hair in big knots at the back of the head. The features of the persons represented are of Mongolian cast, and resemble those of the Karens and Taungthus of the present day.*

The Thagyapaya, in common with other pagodas built by the Talaings, is constructed of hewn laterite; and the existence of several tanks in its vicinity indicates the source whence this building material was obtained.

There are three *basso relievo* sculptures on stone representing Vishnuic symbols lying in the enclosure of the Assistant Commissioner's Court-house. It has been arranged to remove them to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon.

Nat-worship is still, like in other parts of Burma, one of the

*A description of these tablets is given at pages 716 and 717 of the *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II.

prevailing forms of belief at Thatôn. I visited the temple of the Nat called P'o-p'o, *grandfather*. Tradition, which is, in this case, *prima facie* palpably false, says that, when this Nat was a human being, he was charged by Sona and Uttara, the Buddhist missionaries who visited Rāmaññadesa in the 3rd century B.C., to safeguard Thatôn against the attacks of the *bilus* or fierce monsters. The image of P'o-p'o represents an old man of about 60 years sitting cross-legged, with a white fillet on the head, and a moustache and pointed beard. The forehead is broad and the face bears an intelligent expression. The upper portion of the body is nude, and the lower is dressed in a *cheik paso* or loin-cloth of the zigzag pattern so much prized by the people of Burma. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left is in the act of counting the beads of a rosary. The height of the figure is about five feet. In the apartment on the left of P'o-p'o is an image representing a benign-looking *nun* or governor in full official dress. Facing the second image in a separate apartment is the representation of a wild, fierce-looking *bo* or military officer in uniform. The fourth apartment on the left of the *bo* is dedicated to a female Nat, who is presumably the wife of P'o-p'o. But there is no image representing her. It is a strange coincidence that, like in India and Ceylon, these shrines are held in veneration by various nationalities professing different creeds.

The images of the Nats are in a good state of preservation as they are in the custody of a medium, who gains a comfortable livelihood. An annual festival, which is largely attended, is held in their honour.

On the 31st December, I visited the Kôktheinnāyôn hill, which is about 8 miles to the west of Bilin. On the top of the hill are two images representing the Buddhist missionaries, Sona and Uttara, in a recumbent posture and with their hands clasped towards a stone vessel placed between them. The vessel is reputed to contain a hair of Gotama Buddha. Around Sona and Uttara, are the figures of *rahandas* or Buddhist saints, with full, round and heavy features. The forehead of these figures is broad and prominent, but retreating; the nose is big and long; and the mouth large. At the four corners of the platform on the top of the hill, are figures of a strange monster, half human and half beast, called "Manus-siha." There is no such Pāli word; but the term has been coined to designate a human-headed monster with two bodies of a lion. The origin of these monsters is thus recorded in the Kalyāni Inscription:

"The town (Go/amattikanagara) was situated on the sea-shore; and there was a *Rakkhasī*, who lived in the sea, and was in the habit of always seizing and devouring every child that was born in the King's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two *theras*, the Chief Queen of the King gave birth to a child. The *Rakkhasī*, knowing that a child had been born in the King's palace, came towards the town, surrounded by 500 other *Rakkhasas*, with the object of devouring it. When the people saw the *Rakkhasī*, they were stricken with terror, and raised a loud cry. The two *theras*, perceiving that the *Rakkhasī* and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the *Rakkhasī*, and these monsters chased the *Rakkhasas* and obstructed their further progress. When the *pisācas* saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two *theras*, they cried out: 'Now we shall become their prey,' and being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea."

Fergusson, in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (page 622), makes the following pertinent remarks on the origin of this monster: "This illustration (of the Shwedagōn pagoda at Rangoon) is also valuable as showing the last lineal descendant of these great human-headed winged lions that once adorned the portals of the palaces at Nineveh; but, after nearly 3,000 years of wandering and ill-treatment, have degenerated into these wretched caricatures of their former selves."

In an image-house at the foot of the hill, is a brass bell on which the old Talaing inscription has been effaced and a modern Burmese one engraved. It is, perhaps, hopeless to recover a copy of the ancient inscription even if any ever existed.

On the 1st January 1892, I visited the Tizaung pagoda at Zōkthōk village, which is about 6 miles to the north of Bilin. The basement of the pagoda is constructed of blocks of laterite each about 2 feet by 1½ feet and by 1 foot in dimensions. Some of the images as well as the receptacles for offerings, etc., placed around it are of the same material, and bear traces of ornamentation. In the neighbourhood are sculptures in relief engraved on large laterite blocks, which are so arranged as to form panels on the space of a wall or rampart of earth 450 feet

long, and 12 feet high. They are known as the *Sindat-myindat* (elephants and horses of war); but the representations are those of elephants and tigers or lions alternately with those of Nats interspersed between them.

The Kelātha (Kelāsa) pagoda—the Kelāsabhapabbatacetiya of the Kalyāni Inscription—was visited on the 2nd January. It is situated on a steep hill about 2,000 feet high, and appears to have been renovated. It derives its sanctity from the tradition that, like the Kyaiktiyo and Kōktheinnāyōn pagodas, it contains one of the three hairs given by Gotama Buddha to the Rishi Kelāsa. Near the pagoda are two stone inscriptions erected by King Dhammaceti. They are in the Talaing character. The engraved portion of one has been entirely destroyed and only the socket remains standing, while half of the other has been broken. Only one "Manusstha" facing seawards is found on the pagoda platform. Numbers of square bricks with the representation of a lotus flower impressed upon them are lying about the place.

The Kelāsa hill abounds in plants used in Burmese medicine. The plant called Maukk'adaw is employed as an antidote against snake-poison, and another called K'wegaungzawet is used in curing hydrophobia. It is a well-known fact that cases of hydrophobia have been cured with medicines which are a secret to Burmese doctors, who are utterly ignorant of the Pasteur method. It appears to me that the interests of the science of medicine and the humanity generally would be served if the study of Burmese Pharmacopœia could be scientifically pursued. The Medical Department could, perhaps, instruct the Burmese Assistant Surgeons to take up the study.

On the same day, the village of Ayetthema, which is 4 miles off, was visited. It is the ancient Taikkulā and the Go/amattikanagara of the Kalyāni Inscription. Dr. Forchhammer in his *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, II, page 7, says: "Though the seashore is now about 12 miles* to the west, this place was still an important seaport in the 16th and 17th centuries; it is marked on the map of Professor Lassen as Takkala, but erroneously placed a few miles north of Tavoy. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of sea-going vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikkala."

The subject of the identification of the Takōla of Ptolemy and the Kalah of Arabian Geographers is discussed at pages

*Of late, the sea has been encroaching on the land. At the time of my visit the sites of many villages, which derived their wealth and prosperity from the rice trade, were under water.

12—16 (*ibid*), and at pages 198 and 199 of McCrindle's *Ancient India described by Ptolemy*.

Very little appears to be known about the ancient Golas (Skr. Gaudas) of Gaur (*vide* pages 35-36 of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Volume V). If the evidence afforded by the Kalyāṇī Inscription can be relied on, the settlement in Suvannabhūmi was apparently colonized from Bengal during one of the struggles for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism and possibly Jainism also. At the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council, it was remembered by the mother-country, and missionaries were sent to it in order to re-establish community of faith. That Buddhism was prevalent in many parts of India from 300 B.C. to 400 A.D. is abundantly clear from the researches of Prinsep, Lassen, and Burnouf.

There was a Talaing inscription near Ayetthēma. It was removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon about 8 years ago.

Traces of a wall and moat still exist, and fragments pottery and of glazed tiles are found in the neighbourhood.

Pegu was reached on the night of the third January. Extensive ruins are extant on the east and west face of the town. The ruins at Zainganaing, on the west side, comprise those of Kalyāṇīsimā, Mahāceti, Yathemyo, Kyāikpun,* and Shwegūgyi. There are 10 inscriptions at Kalyāṇīsimā, one at Yathemyo and 22 at Shwegūgyi. Between Kalyāṇīsimā and Mahāceti is a Brobdignaggian image of Gotama Buddha in a recumbent posture, measuring about 90 feet in length. Treasure-hunters have been hard at work among these ruins, and I am told that their acts of vandalism are countenanced both by the *pōngyis* and the native officials, who expect a share in the "finds." Most of the stone inscriptions have been broken by treasure-hunters or by pagoda slaves who were anxious to obliterate the record of their origin. In some cases, the names of persons dedicated as pagoda slaves have been carefully chiselled out.

Pegu is the Thebaid of Rāmañña as Pagan is of Burma Proper, and its ruins have some claim to a detailed archaeological survey. The Kalyāṇīsimā is the most interesting of

*Four colossal images of Buddha sitting cross-legged, back to back, and facing the cardinal points. The height of each image is about 90 feet; the thumb measures 8 feet, the arm from the inner elbow-joint to the tip of the middle finger 33 feet, the distance from knee to knee 62 feet. The images represent the four Buddhas, who have appeared in this Kalpa, namely, Kakusandha, Kosagumma, Kassapa, and Gotama.

all. It is an ancient Hall of Ordination, to which Buddhist priests from all parts of Burma, from Ceylon and Siam, used to flock to receive their *upasampada* ordination. Close by are ten stone-slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides. All of them are more or less broken, but the fragments, which are lying scattered about, can easily be restored. Their average dimensions are about 12 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot and 3 inches thick. They were set up by King Dhammaceti after he had founded the Kalyāṇīsimā in 1476 A.D. The language of the inscriptions is partly Pāli and partly Talaing. Numerous copies of the Pāli portion on palm-leaf are extant, and from two of them the text has been transcribed in the Roman character and translated. Only the notes are wanting to complete the work. The chief value of the Kalyāṇī Inscription rests on the detailed information it gives of the manner in which *Simās* should be consecrated in order to secure their validity, and of the intercourse of Pegu and Burma with Ceylon and the Dekkhan in the 15th century A.D.

The Mahāceti pagoda is a huge pile of brick and laterite, built by Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin about the middle of the 16th century A. D. Only the square basement now remains measuring about 320 feet wide at the base, and about 170 feet high.

Nothing definite is known about the ruins of Yathemyo, Kyaikpun, and Shwegūgyi. In the neighbourhood of the last-named Pagoda, glazed terra cotta tablets exhibiting, in relief, figures of human beings and animals were found lying scattered about. A number of such tablets have been collected in Mr. Jackson's garden near the Kalyāṇīsimā. All these should be acquired by Government and sent to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon. They appear to have been manufactured by colonists from India.

The religious buildings at Pegu suffered greatly at the hands of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito and Nicote *alias* Maung Zinga, who held his Court at Syriam at the beginning of the 17th century, and also at the hands of Alompra's soldiery, who, being incensed at the acts of sacrilege committed by the Talaings during their ephemeral conquest of Burma Proper, wreaked their vengeance when their turn came. It is said that Maung Zinga, who was originally a ship-boy, and was stationed at Syriam to watch events, and to represent his master, the King of Arakan, entertained ambitious designs of holding Pegu as a dependency of the Crown of Portugal and of converting the Peguans to Christianity. For the attainment of this object, he allied himself with Byinnya Dala,

the Governor of Martaban, who was tributary to Siam, and opened communications with the Viceroy of Goa. He failed in his object and met with his death, because he had alienated the sympathy of the people by breaking down their religious buildings and shipping off to Goa the treasures obtained therefrom in "five ships." In the plaintive words of the *Thamaing* or history of the Shwehmawdaw Pagoda: "Maung Zinga was a heretic, who, for 10 years, searched for pagodas to destroy them. Religion perished in Rāmañña, and good works were no longer performed."

The Shwegūgale Pagoda is in a good state of preservation. Its basement consists of a gallery containing 64 images of Buddha, each 4 feet 8 inches high, which were apparently constructed by Siamese architects. It is octagonal in shape, and is a remarkable structure. On each side is an entrance, 6 feet high by 3 feet 2 inches wide, and 7 feet 2 inches long; they lead to an interior gallery, 5 feet 2 inches wide and 7 feet 3 inches high; the entire gallery passing round the central portion, measures 246 feet.

Close to the Maziñchaung, is the Shwenathā Pagoda. It contains an image sculptured in relief on a tablet of sandstone measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 4 feet. The image has an Indian cast of features, and is fabled to be shackled with fetters owing to its having once fled from Pegu. It is said that this image as well as a similar one of the same name on the eastern face of the city were brought away from Taikkala. The resemblance between these images and the figure of Avalokiteswara (Plate LV of *The Cave Temple of India* by Ferguson and Burgess) is very striking, and suggests the idea that they have probably been modified to suit their Buddhistic character. Near this image was picked up a small terra cotta tablet bearing a Sanskrit legend. This tablet and other old images lying about the place have apparently been obtained by ransacking the relic-chambers of ancient pagodas.

The eastern face of Pegu was visited on the 5th January. The Shwehmawdaw Pagoda, said to contain two hairs of Gotama Buddha enshrined by Mahāsala and Cūṣāla, sons of Pīḍakamahāsethi of Zaungtu, was being re-gilt under the supervision of its trustees. The Pagoda was last repaired by Bodawpaya, one of the numerous sons of Alompra, about a hundred years ago, and a broken inscription recording this meritorious act is lying on the Pagoda platform. There is also an ancient brass bell said to have been presented by Byinnya Dala after his conquest of Ava in 1752 A.D.

Like the Shwedagôn Pagoda at Rangoon, the Shwehmawdaw is a Buddhist shrine of great sanctity. Successive Kings of Burma and Pegu lavished their treasures on it in repairing and enlarging it. When originally built, it was only 75 feet high, but as it now stands, it is about 288 feet high, and about 1,350 feet in circumference at the base.

A little to the north-east of Shwehmawdaw is a small hill, fabled to have been the resting-place of two *Hamsa* birds, when the region about Pegu was under the sea. At the foot of this hill are two octagonal pillars of fine granite. The length of one is about 11 feet and that of the other is about 5. They bear no inscription, but a tradition is current that they were erected by *Kala* or Indian merchants who subsequently claimed the country as their own by virtue of pre-occupation, and that they were driven out by a Talaing prince. However, the true history of the pillars appears to be that, like a similar granite pillar in the ancient town of Tenasserim in the Mergui district, they were erected, when Rāmaññadesa was subject to Indian rule, to mark the centre of the ancient city of *Hamsavati*, and that most probably a human being or beings were buried alive below the pillars in the belief that the spirits of the deceased would keep an unremitting watch over the city.

A good panoramic view of Pegu and its suburbs is obtained from the Shwe-aungyo Pagoda which is situated at the south-east corner of the city walls. At about 700 yards from the southern face is Jetuvati, the encampment of Alompra, who beleaguered Pegu in 1757 A.D. Within the walls are visible the sites of the palaces of the great kings of *Hamsavati*, like Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin known to European writers as Branginoco, Yāzādarit, and Dhammaceti. Traces of a double wall and moat are also seen, the walls being in a good condition.

I have now traversed through the whole of the ancient Talaing Kingdom of Rāmaññadesa proper. The stone inscriptions are about the only objects of archaeological value, and should, I think, for the purpose of preservation, be removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon, provided of course that they are ownerless and that the people of the locality do not offer any objection to the removal. In the case, however, of inscriptions, whose size and weight render their removal to Rangoon unadvisable, they should be collected at some convenient and central place and arrangements should be made to protect them from the weather. If they remain *in situ* they are liable to be defaced or weather-worn. Manuscripts of

historical interest are extremely scarce ; the architectural structures have, in most cases, been renovated in the modern style ; and the religious buildings worthy of conservation are being looked after by the people. With the exception of the pagodas, which are generally octagonal in shape, and of the new *kyauungs* recently constructed at Moulmein, there is scarcely any building of historic or architectural interest. No *stāpas* or topes like those of Upper India were met with, and the enquiries instituted failed to elicit any information regarding the existence of any records, lithic or otherwise, in the Asoka character. The absence of any records in this character both in Rāmaññadesa and at Pagan, whither it is supposed the Burmese conquerors removed their spoils of war, throws considerable doubt on the authenticity of the account relating to the mission of Sona and Uttara at the conclusion of the Third Council, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa* and other Buddhist books. The question, however, may be considered to be an open one, because the information afforded by Talaing, Cambodian, and Siamese records, whenever they shall have been examined and interpreted, may help towards its solution.

CHAPTER V.—BIOGRAPHY.

ANURUDDHA OR ANAWRATAZAW, KING OF PAGAN.

ANURUDDHA and its Burmanized forms, Anawrata and Anawratazaw are the names of the hero-king, who reigned at Pagan about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.

His conquest of Thatôn, in 1057 A.D., is thus described by Phayre, (*History of Burma*, page 37) :—"The king now desired to possess the Buddhist scriptures, the *Tripitaka*. He knew that those precious volumes existed at Thahtun (Thatôn). He sent an ambassador of high rank to Manuha, the King of that city, to ask for a copy of the holy books. The King answered haughtily that he would give nothing. Anorahta (Anawrata), with a sudden fierceness, altogether opposed to the spirit of the religion which he had embraced, determined to punish what he deemed an affront. He collected a large army and went down the Irrawaddy. The King of Thahtun had no means of meeting the invader in the field, but the city was well defended by a wall. After a long siege, the citizens were reduced by famine, and the city was surrendered. King Manuha, his wives and children, were carried away captives to Pagan. The city was utterly destroyed. Nobles and artificers, holy relics and sacred books, golden images and treasures of all kinds were carried off; and from that time the country of Pegu became for more than two centuries subject to Burma. As a fit sequence to such a war, the unhappy Manuha, his whole family, and the high-born captives were thrust down to the lowest depth of woe by being made pagoda slaves."

During the three centuries that preceded the accession of Anawrata, Buddhism had been expelled from India, and its votaries had found a refuge in the neighbouring countries, namely, Tibet, China, the Malay Archipelago, Indo-China, and Ceylon. To this fact may, perhaps, be attributed the religious and architectural activity manifested at Pagan at the beginning of the eleventh century, and the preparedness of the Burmans to assimilate the civilization of the Talaings transplanted through Anawrata's conquest.

However, it has hitherto been the fashion* to represent Anawrata as the leader of a barbarian horde, who swept down upon Thatôn, and from thence carried away captive its King, Manuha, together with "five elephant-loads of Buddhist scriptures and five hundred Buddhist monks," and that it was, during his reign, that the Burmans received their religion, letters, and other elements of civilization from the Talaings. Such statements do not appear to be warranted by the evidence afforded by the following facts relating to this period :

(a) The tract of country extending from Toungoo to Mandalay was colonised under feudal tenure in order to prevent the recurrence of the constant raids from the neighbouring Shan Hills; and, with a view to attract population, the irrigation works, which have been a source of wealth and prosperity to later generations, were constructed. A similar cordon of towns and villages was also formed on the northern frontier to safeguard it against aggression from the Shan Kingdom of Pong. Coupled with these facts was that of the subjection of the Talaings to Burmese rule for over two centuries. These circumstances appear to indicate that the Burmans of that period were possessed of the elements of civilization, and were acquainted with statesmanship, the methods of good government, and the arts of settled life.

(b) A debased form of Buddhism, which was probably introduced from Northern India, existed at Pagan. Its teachers, called *Aris*, were not strict observers of their vow of celibacy; and it is expressly recorded in native histories that they had written records of their doctrines, the basis of which was that sin could be expiated by the recitation of certain hymns.

The sacred language of Buddhism at the time of its introduction was Sanskrit, and not Pāli. This is abundantly clear from the terra cotta tablets bearing Sanskrit legends found at Tagaung, Pagan, and Prome, from the preference shown for the Sanskrit form of certain words, as noticed by Fausböll and Trenckner, in the Buddhist books from Burma, and from the existence, in the Burmese language, of words importing terms in religion, mythology, science, and social life, which are derived directly from Sanskrit.

*Compare Forchhammer's *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 4:—"We shall, in vain, explore the reputed sites of ancient Burmese capitals for any architectural remains, antedating the rise of Anawrata, which can be traced to Burmans. The conquest of Anawrata inaugurated the career of the Myanmas or Burmans as a historical nation."

Nor did they, prior to this event, possess an alphabet, much less a literature. Their most ancient inscriptions are not older than six centuries and display the art writing in its infancy."

(c) It is expressly recorded in the *Mahāyāzawin* or "Chronicles of the Burmese Kings" that the Buddhist scriptures, which were in the Mun or Talaing character, were, by Anawrata's command, transcribed in the Burmese character at Pagan. Pāli legends inscribed on terra cotta tablets belonging in the 11th century have been found at Pagan, whose palæographical development is clearly traceable to the Indo-Pāli alphabet of Kanishka (*vide* Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Plate XXVII), and not to the South-Indian alphabet of the Eastern Chaluka dynasty of Talinga (*vide* Burnells's *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, Plate IV) from which the Talaing alphabet was apparently derived.

(d) The Shwezigôn and several other pagodas were built by Anawrata, who enshrined in them the relics obtained by demolishing certain religious edifices in Arakan, Prome, and Pegu. The sudden outburst of architectural energy, which followed Anawrata's conquest of Thatôn, and which covered the Upper valley of the Irrawaddy with pagodas and other religious buildings, could not have been possible unless the Burmans of that period had reached a certain stage in the scale of civilization.

According to the Kalyāni inscription, after the period extending from the establishment of Buddhism at Thatôn to the reign of Manuha, a period extending over thirteen centuries, "the power of Rāmaññadesa declined, because civil dissensions arose and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent Religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the seven kings."

This very rapid *résumé*, amounting practically to silence, is thus explained by Forchhammer, (*Jardine Prize Essay*, page 25): "From the 6th to the 11th centuries, the political history of the Talaings is a blank. During this period, the ancient kingdom of Khmer or Camboja attained to its fullest power; it extended from the Gulf of Martaban to Tonquin. The kings, who ruled over Khmer, from the year 548 A.D. to the 11th century, favoured Brahmanism to the almost total exclusion and suppression of Buddhism. The splendid ruins of Khmer date from this period; the temples are dedicated to Siva and Vishnu; the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. Camboja is the great kingdom of Zabej of the Arabian geographers, which, in the eighth and ninth centuries, extended also

over the groups of islands south and west of Malacca, including Borneo, Java, and Sumatra; Kala (Golanagara), north of Thatôn, was then an important sea harbour, and according to Abuzaid and Kazwini, an Indian town, subject at that time (9th century) to the king of Camboja. The country of the Talaings was then, no doubt, also a dependency of the same kingdom, and the silence of their records during that period is fully explained thereby. They mention, however, the struggle for ascendancy between Brahmanism and Buddhism; the latter prevailed, chiefly because the maritime provinces of Burma became a place of refuge to a great number of Buddhist fugitives from India."

RAMADHIPATI OR DHAMMACHETĪ, KING OF PEGU.

THE latter half of the 15th century A. D. is a brilliant epoch in the history of Burmese literature. The profound peace that was due to sheer exhaustion induced by foreign wars and internal dissensions, was eminently favourable to the cultivation of high literary culture. The frequent intercourse with Ceylon, and the liberality with which monastic institutions were endowed by Burmese Kings in the previous centuries, had made their capital the seat of learning and a stronghold of Buddhism. The long subjection of Rāmaññadesa to Burmese rule from the 11th to the 13th centuries had caused all political, religious, and intellectual life to centre at the Burmese capital (at that time Pagan), as is always the case in the East, and had accustomed Talaing monks, like Dhammavilāsa, from the maritime provinces to repair to it for the completion of their education. Until Dhammachetī, who had received his education at Ava, came to the throne in 1465 A.D., the mental energies of the lower country appear to have been spent in squabbles and profitless religious controversies. Hence there were no great writers or renowned teachers in the Talaing Kingdom, at whose feet scholars could receive their instruction.

The literature cultivated at that period was not only that of Pali and Sanskrit, but also that of Burmese. The exquisite, highly refined, and inimitable poetry of Silavamsa and Ratthasāra, the great poets of Burma, who flourished in the latter half of the 15th century, and whose works are mentioned at page 66 of Forchhammer's *Jardine Prize Essay*, does not

appear to corroborate that writer's statement made at page 28 of the same work :—"A critical study of the Burmese literature evolves the fact that the Burmese idiom reached the stage of a translatable language at the close of the 15th century, and that of an independent literary tongue not much more than a century ago". This learned scholar was apparently misled by the statements of Native writers, who, in their biographical notices of their literary countrymen, generally accord the first places to the two great poets named above. But the wealth of imagery and allusion, the pure diction, and the terse, logical and masterly style of composition, evinced by the works referred to, afford strong and unassailable internal evidence as to the Burmese idiom having passed beyond the "stage of a translatable language at the close of the 15th century." Besides, the Tethwègyaung Inscription at Pagan, dated 804 B.E. (1442 A.D.,) that is to say, eleven years before the birth of Silavamsa, affords corroborative evidence of the high literary culture of the Burmese vernacular in that a portion of it is written in faultless Burmese metre, which has served as the model of later writers. The list, mentioned in it, of works belonging to the Buddhist Canon, of commentaries and scholia, of medical, astrological, grammatical, and poetical works translated from Sanskrit, shows also the keen literary activity of the Burmans of that period. The divergence between the actual fact and the statements of local writers may be reconciled by ascribing the cause to the unreliable historical memory of the Burmese people, the direct outcome of the ruthless and vandalic wars, to which their country was spasmodically subjected.

In common with other Talaing monks of the period, Rāmādhipati, whose monkish name was Dhammadhara, accompanied by his fellow-pupil, Dhammañāna, who was subsequently known as Dhammapāla, proceeded to Ava in his sixteenth year (1422 A.D.) and received his instruction under Ariyadhajathera, a learned monk of Sagaing.

A few years previous to this, consequent on the death of the great Talaing monarch. Yāzādarit (Rājādhirājā), the kingdom of Pegu had been convulsed by civil wars. The succession of Byinnya Dhammarājā, the eldest son of the deceased king, was disputed by his younger brothers, Byinnyayan and Byinnya-kaing, who sought the assistance of Thihathu (Sīhasūra), King of Ava. It was during the second expedition of this Burmese King that Byinnyayan gave his sister, Shin Sawbu, in marriage to him, as a pledge of his good faith. Shin Sawbu, who was

a widow and mother of three children,* accompanied her husband to Ava (1425 A.D.), and there made the acquaintance of Dhammadhara and Dhammañāna, whose intelligence and nationality induced her to become their supporter. After the death of Thihathu, Shin Sawbu, was not satisfied with her life in the Palace. The intrigues, political convulsions, and rapid changes of Kings, brought about through the instrumentality of her rival, Shin Bomē, appear to have bewildered her and made her feel that her position was precarious in the extreme. She, therefore, longed to be once more in her native land, and secured the assistance of the two Talaing monks, Dhammadhara and Dhammañāna, in the prosecution of her object. Amidst much danger and under great difficulties, the party left Ava in a country boat and arrived safely at Pegu in 1429 A.D., where Byinnyayan had become king under the title of Byinnyayankaik. Twenty-six years later, in the absence of male heirs of Yāzādarit, Shin Sawbu became Sovereign of Pegu by popular choice under the title of Byinnya T'aw.

Dhammadhara and Dhammañāna were well provided for, in token of the Queen's appreciation and gratitude for the services rendered by them during her flight to Pegu. Subsequently, the former, who was a native of Martaban, of obscure parentage, and who was then known as the Leikpyingyaung-pōngyi, but who had unfrocked himself at her request, was appointed to be her Heir Apparent, while the latter was put in prison for harbouring evil designs against his Sovereign.

In her choice of a successor, and in excluding her own blood relations from the succession, Shin Sawbu was guided by her knowledge of human nature, and actuated by a noble desire to secure to the Kingdom of Rāmaññadesa firm and wise administration under an able and competent ruler; and Dhammadhara was eminently qualified for the task.

The only opposition against which the Heir Apparent had to contend was that of Byinna Ein, Governor of Bassein, a son-in-law of Shin Sawbu. He headed a rebellion, but was shortly after slain in battle.

Shin Sawbu entrusted Dhammadhara with the affairs of the Government, while she retired to Dagōn (Rangoon) to pass her remaining days in doing religious works and in peaceful

* A son and two daughters. The son, Byinnya Tard, succeeded his uncle and adoptive father, Byinnyayan-kaik, in 1446 A.D. The older daughter was married to Byinnya Ein, Governor of Bassein, and the younger to Dhammachetsi.

meditation. The site of her residence is still known to this day as Shin Sawbumyo. She died in 1469 A.D., at the age of 76, and was succeeded by Dhammadhara, who had married her younger daughter. The Talaing clergy and nobility conferred the title of Dhammacheti on the new king because of his wide and varied learning and of his thorough knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. He subsequently assumed the titles of Rāmādhīpati, Sīnbyuyin (Seta-gajā-pati) and Sīri-pavāra-mahā-dhamma-rājādhīrāja. He was, however, best known among the people of Burma as Dhammacheti.

Dhammacheti held friendly intercourse with the rulers of Ceylon, Northern India, Siam, and Cambodia. He sent two religious missions: one to Bodh Gaya in 1472 A.D., to report on the sacred shrines commemorative of the life of its Founder; and the other to Ceylon, in 1475 A.D., to establish, beyond doubt, the apostolical succession of the monks of Rāmāññadesa, by deputing twenty-two *thēras* and as many younger monks to receive their *upasampada* ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra sect founded by Mahindamahāthera in the 3rd century B. C. The result of the first mission was the construction at Pegu of religious edifices in imitation of those of Bodh Gaya, and that of the second was the consecration of the Kalyāṇī *simā* by the monks, who had returned from Ceylon.

Dhammacheti fully justified the choice of his mother-in-law and "though brought up from early youth in the seclusion of a Buddhist monastery until he was more than 40 years of age" proved to be a wise, able, and beneficent ruler. He was a man of great energy and capacity, and throughout his long reign of thirty years, consolidated his power and extended the boundaries of his Kingdom eastward without any bloodshed. Moreover, he tried his best to secure the welfare and prosperity of his people and to recoup the strength and resources of the country, which had well-nigh been exhausted during the wars with Burma and the rebellions headed by Talaing princes. He was a good judge and legislator. A compilation of his decisions is extant, and the *Dhammacheti-dhammasattham* was compiled under his direction. He died in 1492 A.D. at the age of 86. The funeral honours of a *chakravartin* or universal monarch paid to him after his death, and the building of a

* Playro's *History of Burma*, page 85. As a matter of fact, Dhammacheti was 56 years old when he became Regent, and 63 when he became King. During the interval of seven years, he ruled Rāmāññadesa in the name of Shin Sawbu, who had retired to Dagōn (Rangoon.)

pagoda over his bones, bear testimony to the great esteem, love and admiration with which he was regarded by his subjects.

The dynasty, to which Dhammacheti may be said to belong, was that founded by Wagaru, a Talaing adventurer from Siam, who, during the dismemberment of the Burmese Empire, consequent on a Chinese invasion near the close of the 13th century A.D., seized the Government of Martaban, and defeated the Burmese forces sent against him. This dynasty gradually increased in importance till its highest pitch of power was reached under Yāzādarit (1385—1423 A.D.). Previous to Wagaru's rebellion, the maritime provinces had been under Burmese rule since the conquest of Thatôn by Anawratazaw in the 11th century A.D.

BRANGINOCO OR HANTHAWADI SINBYUYIN.

IN Burma, traditional history is somewhat different from recorded history, because historiographers are anxious to hide the humble origin of their royal patrons. The following is the traditional history of Hanthawaddi Sinbyuyin, the Branginoco of the Portuguese writers, who flourished in the 16th century A.D.:—There was a toddy-climber at Ngathayauk, a village in the Pagan Township. He had a son born to him, and the child was named Maung Cha Det because a number of white ants swarmed round him during the early days of his birth. As Pagan was, as it is now, an arid locality, often subject to drought and scarcity, the family migrated south to Taung-dwingyi, where both food and work were plentiful. One day, while the father was climbing a toddy tree in order to tap its juice, the mother laid the infant on the ground and went elsewhere. During her absence, a big serpent came and coiled itself round the child without doing any harm to it. When the mother returned to the spot, she saw the reptile gently gliding away. The father and mother put their heads together, and as they were unable to interpret the omen, they appealed to a learned Buddhist monk, who was well versed in astrological and other mystic lore. They handed the child's horoscope to the recluse and explained to him their own poor circumstances, where they came from originally, and the incidents connected with the white ants and the harmless snake. On learning the direction, in which the serpent had glided away, the monk said: "Go to Toungoo, where a monarchy has been established under Mingyi Nyo. The child certainly possesses signs of

greatness and prosperity. His horoscope is an excellent one. If you wish to benefit yourselves by the good fortune of your son, you must forthwith remove to a place, which is *Patirāpadesa*, 'an appropriate abode' according to the precepts laid down in the *Mangalasutta*. Following this advice, the family went to Toungoo and put up under a monastery, whose *sadaw* or abbot happened to be the preceptor of the King. Just then, a son had been born in the Palace, who was eventually known as Tabin-shwe-ti, and orders had gone forth to search for a strong and healthy wet nurse, who was free from moral and physical blemish. The abbot introduced the toddy-climber's wife into the Palace, and she was immediately accepted by the Queen. The King also had a daughter, and the three children grew up together. The Queen noticed the unpardonable intimacy between the Princess and Maung Cha Det, and reported the matter to the King. Owing to the intervention of the *sadaws*, his offence was condoned, and a subordinate post in the Palace was assigned to him. He was so strenuous and assiduous in the discharge of his duties that he received promotion, step by step, till he became a military officer of high rank. When Mingyi Nyo died, Tabin-shweti succeeded his father. For his great services in the wars between Toungoo and Pegu, the title of "Bayin Naung Kyawdin Nawrata" or "Kyawdin Nawrata, the elder brother of the King" was conferred on him. He eventually succeeded Tabin-shwe-ti as King of Toungoo and Pegu, and was one of the greatest figures in Burmese history. Two of his brothers served him as Governors of Toungoo and Prome, and his son, the Nyaungyan Prince, founded a dynasty at Ava, which ruled united Burma from 1599 to 1751 A.D., when it was subverted by the Talaings. It will thus be seen that Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin had not a drop of royal blood in his veins, and that he was the son-in-law of Mingyi Nyo, King of Toungoo; and the brother-in-law of the celebrated Tabin-shwe-ti.

KING THIBAW.

PRINCE THIBAW is the son of the Laungshe *Mibaya*, a queen of subordinate rank, who, having incurred the displeasure of King Mindôn, was obliged to lead the secluded life of a Buddhist nun. But the misfortune and disgrace of the mother were more than compensated by the energy and perseverance of the son. Thibaw was well aware of his status in the palace, and, therefore, directed the whole bent of his mind to the study

of the Buddhist scriptures, as he was assured that his being versed in them would procure his father's favour. He duly passed the *Pathamabyan* examination and received his reward from the hands of the King and the late Chief Queen. Mindôn Min was highly pleased with his son, and henceforth the latter was treated better than before. Thibaw, when young, was of a retired disposition. He did not like to mix with his high-born half brothers and sisters but kept to himself. Consequently he was very little known outside the palace precincts. Once it is said, that he sent his servants to offer some brass coverings of alms bowls to certain monks. The venerable recipients asked by whom the gift had been sent, and they were answered "Thibaw Kodaw" (My Lord Thibaw). They were in wonder as to who this Thibaw Kōdaw might be, and conjectured whether he was a Bishop or not, till their doubt was solved by a fellow monk, who knew about the palace better than they.

It was such a prince that the tactful and ambitious Queen Ale Nandaw hit upon for the successor of King Mindôn. She knew that he was only eighteen, that he was in love with her second daughter, Supayalat, or rather that her daughter was in love with him, that he was born of a queen of low rank, and would, therefore, easily bend to her yoke, that, having passed the greater part of his life in a secluded monastery, he knew little or nothing about the affairs of the world, and, lastly, that if she could only set him up as a puppet king, she might enjoy the sway of the whole kingdom as her mother, the notorious Mè Nu, had done half a century ago.

But a throne obtained by chicanery and supported by a virago queen would soon be tottered by the very discordant elements which helped in setting up Thibaw as king. It was soon found that the royal exchequer had been impoverished. The *wuns* expected to get more presents from the King. The pay of the royal retainers was commuted to payment in kind, while the numerous executive officers all over the kingdom were clamouring for pay. The Governors of the several districts received strict orders to remit more money to the royal treasury. And they, in their turn, tightened the screw on the people. During this crisis, the King was advised to open lotteries and levy commission on the money collected. This advice was adopted and lottery booths were erected within and without the city walls. At first large sums of money flowed into the King's treasury; but it was ultimately found that the people

could not bear the strain made on their purses and the lotteries were consequently closed. Nearly coeval with the lotteries was adopted the monopoly system. Salt, jaggery, cotton, teak betel-nut, silk etc., were monopolised, and Thibaw succeeded in draining the brimming purses of some of the unwary capitalists from British territory. Owing to a strong remonstrance made by the British Government, the monopoly system was allowed to drop for a time after the monopoly revenue had been safely placed in the King's coffers. Later on, the monopolies were, however, revived.

Such misgovernment could not remain without producing tangible results. The Shans became refractory and renounced their allegiance to the "Golden Foot." The Kachins, who had been propitiated with presents of red cloth, swords, golden umbrellas and the conferring of grandiloquent titles, would no longer respect a nominal King, whose authority was not felt on the confines of his dominions. They accordingly revolted, devastated the cities of Mogauug, Kaungtôn, Katha and Manlè, and carried away the people to be sold as slaves. Incendiary fires were of frequent occurrence even in Mandalay itself. The *kyaungs*, *zayats* and private houses in the wealthy part of the town were burnt down. The celebrated Mahā Muni or the image in the Arakan Pagoda, which had been covered with gold by its votaries for the last one hundred years, was also divested of its gold by the late fire. Allowing that a very moderate number, *viz.*, 100 gold leaves were daily offered to it, and that each 100 cost Rs. 2, the value of the gold must have amounted to Rs. 73,00,000 during 100 years. If the loss, which the image incurred, amounted to such a large sum, what would be the amount of other losses? Moreover, the people, who gambled in the lotteries, had been impoverished and most of them sold as slaves. Trade was at a standstill. The principal Chinese firms withdrew from Mandalay and Bhamo, and there was no British Resident in the Upper country. On account of these circumstances, the people could not live happily in Upper Burma, and so immigrated into the lower country in large numbers. In 1882, Sinbyugyun, a town which is about a day's journey distant by steamer from Minhla, was burnt, and about 40 per cent. of the inhabitants left their homes for British territory.

During all this time, when the people outside the palace were bemoaning and bewailing their hard lot, the inmates of the Palace were in all their glory. *Fêtes* and *prés* were held. Buffoonery and jugglery were brought into requisition. A

Parsi theatrical company was invited from Rangoon to amuse the Sybaritic inmates of the Palace. Thousands of rupees were lavished on celebrating the birth of Thibaw's children and on providing them with cradles shining with gems. On one occasion, it is said that Supayalat gave away Rs. 1,000 to a *lubyet* or clown for cracking a joke, which, she thought, redounded greatly to her glory.

When things were in this state in Upper Burma, people in the lower country living under the British Government might well thank their stars that they were free from the clutches of the ambitious, cruel and unscrupulous Alè Nandaw and her equally bloodthirsty daughter, Supayalat, who, when she wanted any individual to get out of this world, simply turned round to her servile and cringing attendants and said "Take him away; I don't want to see him." These people might also wonder why the Burmese of Mandalay could brook such a system of grinding government as Thibaw Min's, why they did not rise like one man and bring their tyrants to justice as the English people did about two and half centuries ago; or why they at all stolidly remained like a group of dumb Egyptian mummies without striking a blow for their liberty of speech, liberty of action, freedom of trade, and constitutional government. Such questions, we believe, cannot be answered without some acquaintance with the manners, customs and history of the Burmese people.

First of all, the people outside the Palace cannot possibly rebel against the existing Government: any change must be originated in the Palace itself. In eastern countries, the Government is generally despotic. The King is the fountain of honour, mercy and justice. His will is the law of the land and he naturally dispenses with the services of the legislative, executive and judicial departments such as are required in highly civilised countries.

Now to support the King on his throne, and give effect to his administrative machinery, a check was required on the people. And this check Burmese kings found in the maintenance of a standing army and the system of having a pack of sycophants in pay. By the employment of such means, the people were overawed: they were cowed down; and no one dared to give vent to his feelings regarding the state of existing things. For, no sooner was the least breath of sedition or conspiracy breathed forth, than the news was at once carried by the sycophants to their master. And, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the poor delinquent saw his tongue cut off, his

eyes torn out, his estates confiscated, and lastly, he, together with his relations, were put in a house and blown off to the other world by means of gunpowder. Nor was it easy to have access to the presence of the King to make him acquainted with the sufferings of his subjects, and, if possible, to have their grievances removed. The King always had near him a *thet-taw-zaung*—life guard, with a golden *da* (sword). He was generally surrounded by his *Wuns*, who had attained their present position by ingratiating themselves into his personal favour. There were always guards placed about the Palace. In addition to such precautions, the King consigned his safety, when asleep, to the *Hman Nan Apyodaw*, or his body-guard of women. These women were attached to him not by love, but by their expectation to be, one day, the sole rulers of the Palace.

In eastern countries, a change in the personality of kings implied a transfer of allegiance to the king *de facto* by the noblesse and a corresponding change in the policy of government. It has been shown above that the middle and lower classes were utterly powerless in forcing their political importance on the cognizance of the King either by lawful agitation as in western countries, or by capturing his person and forcing him to sign a Magna Charta. So, the only remedy left in this matter was the exertion of the so-called nobility in the cause of the vulgar masses. This latter course, too, was altogether impossible. The nobles were the creatures of the King, and what creature would have audacity and ingratitude enough to cross the will of his creator? This being the case, we should not, at all, be surprised, when we came to examine the Burmese constitution—if constitution it could be called—to find that the Burmans of Upper Burma were living under one of the most galling systems of despotism imaginable, that, for their taxes, they obtained, in return, no education, no good roads, no works of public utility, no security against the dreadful inroads of dacoit bands, and against the more dreadful rapacity of those placed over them to foster their prosperity and welfare.

Thus Thibaw Min was reigning quite secure in his Palace at Mandalay. All his relatives, with a few exceptions, had been quietly sent to the '*land of the nats*' and, from within, he was fully assured that no one dared or had sufficient influence over the people to wrest his ill-gotten crown from him. His neighbours, the English, might say what they liked about him: they might call him a drunkard, a monster of cruelty, but what cared he so long as he had his mother-in-law, the Alè

Nan Daw to preside over his Privy Council, so long as he had Mingyi U Gaung, that great master of diplomacy, as his Foreign Secretary, and so long as the British Government did not pester him through its residents and envoys? The Government of British Burma might send him ultimatum on ultimatum, but what cared he so long as they were mere threats and remonstrances on paper not backed up by British guns and British bayonets?

THE KINWUN MINGYI, C. S. I.

U GAUNG, *Ex-Kinwun Mingyi*, who was the Prime Minister of the late Burmese Government, passed away quietly, in his eighty-seventh year, at his residence in Fort Dufferin on the 30th June 1908. His end was not unexpected as he had been, through paralysis, confined to his bed during the last 18 months. He was born in 1821, at Madaingbin village in the Lower Chindwin district. His father was a soldier in the *Natshinywe* Infantry Regiment, and, in accordance with the laws of the country, he, too, was destined to follow the hereditary profession of arms. But he escaped from conscription by entering the cloisters and applying himself assiduously to theological studies. He was ordained a Buddhist monk under the name of "U Alawka," his laic name being Maung Chin, and migrated to Amarapura, the then capital of the Kingdom of Ava, where he joined a college, whose Master, U Yan We, eventually became the Prime Minister of King Mindôn under the title of "Pakan Mingyi."

Pagan Min was then King. He had his boon companions, and passed his days in frivolous amusements, like bull-baiting and cock-fighting. The administration of the country was left to inexperienced and irresponsible persons, like the notorious Maung Kyauk Lôn and Maung Bai Zat, and corruption became rife and disorder rampant. The revenue could not be collected regularly and the Princes of the Blood had to support themselves by sharing ill-gotten spoil with thieves and brigands. The Mindôn Prince and his brother the Kanaung Mintha, who were the half-brothers of the King, and who were noted for their influence and ability, became marked men for having become the centre of an intrigue for political supremacy. A charge was laid against them, under royal command, of harbouring the dacoits, who had plundered the Chinese quarter of Amarapura, and they were peremptorily ordered to produce the delinquents.

The second Anglo-Burmese war, which resulted in the British annexation of Pegu, had broken out, in 1852, and Burmese arms had met with reverses at the hands of the East India Company. Public opinion was against the King, who had exhausted the exchequer, and had brought desolation to so many homes and the country to the brink of ruin. In these circumstances, it was not difficult for the Royal brothers to raise a following and to retire to Shwebo, the ancestral home of the Alaungpaya dynasty. Here, the Mindôn Mintha, was formally crowned King, and he bestowed rewards and appointments upon his devoted adherents. Thither, the Princes were followed by U Alawka and his master, who had unfrocked themselves, and had thrown in their lot, for weal or woe, with the rebel *Minthas*. When the former, now known as Maung Chin, was introduced to His Majesty, King Mindôn said: "Your name is neither mellifluous nor of happy augury. I shall change it to Maung Gaung. The bearer of that name, you must remember, was the most faithful Commander-in-Chief of my ancestor, Alaungpaya, and he lost his life in the siege of Syriam. If you live long enough, and serve me faithfully, I have no doubt that you will, some day, rise to be the Commander-in-Chief of my army, and that you will rival the glories of your great namesake."

Maung Gaung was there and then appointed to be "Shwe-deiksaye" or clerk of the Royal Treasury. From Shwebo, King Mindôn went to Amarapura, and after capturing it and sparing the life of Pagan Min, an incident quite unparalleled in the annals of Burma, he transferred his capital to Mandalay and made great efforts to copy the British methods of Government prevailing in Lower Burma. Mandalay also became the scene of Maung Gaung's labours, and he rose gradually in the official hierarchy till, in 1871, he found himself a *Wundauk* or Minister of the third rank in the realm. He was placed in charge of "*kins*" or police and custom stations, and the designation "*Kinwun*" stuck to him all his life.

In that year, King Mindôn determined to enter into direct relations with the British Ministry, a desire more than once manifested by the late Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, and to send a Burmese embassy to England to secure the rendition of Pegu. The Kin Wundauk was raised to the dignity of a *Wungyi* or Minister of the highest rank, and was appointed to be Ambassador, and to the Embassy were attached Mr. Edmund Jones, the head of the firm of that name, as Counsellor, Maung Shwe O, who was educated at Paris, and

who became the Kyauk Myaung Atwin Wun, and Maung Shwe Bin, who was educated at Calcutta and who became the Padin Wundauk, as Secretaries. Maung Myè, who is now Tabayin Wundauk, was then undergoing his Military training at Woolwich and he joined the Embassy at London.

The party embarked in the steamer called the *Setkya Yinbyan*, which was owned by the Burmese Government, and started for England *via* Singapore and Colombo. King Mindôn had ignored both the Local Government and the Government of India as he claimed to exercise sovereign rights and to treat with another sovereign only. It was, therefore, doubtful whether the Burmese Embassy would be received in honour on its arrival in England. Instead of coming to any rupture in his relations with his powerful neighbour, King Mindôn had the wisdom to change the character of the Embassy from a political to a commercial mission, and, as such, it made an extensive tour of the industrial centres like Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, etc., The Kinwun Mingyi bore with dignity the ceremonies he had to go through and kept a diary of his eventful journey. He was received by Queen Victoria and he invested the Prince of Wales (the late King Edward) with a golden *salwè* of 21 strings, and the late Mr. Gladstone, who was then Premier, with another of 18 strings, the highest honours in the gift of a Burmese monarch. He met Prince George (now King George V), then a frolicsome boy of about 9 years of age, and patted him on the head.

The Embassy duly returned to Burma and the King died in 1878; but before his death, in accordance with his promise made in 1852, he made Maung Gaung his Commander-in-Chief.

The Kinwun Mingyi, whose co-operation had been secured by Sinbyumayin, the Dowager Queen, declared himself in favour of Thibaw's accession. The new King was youthful and inexperienced, and was under the influence of his strong-willed and unscrupulous Queen, Supayalat. The Yanaung *Mintha* and the Taingda Mingyi rose to power, and the country went to wreck and ruin. Meantime, the Kinwun Mingyi was shorn of his influence, and he became a mere spectator of the events taking place around him. Even if he had the will and courage, he had not the power to stem the tide of destruction overwhelming the country.

In the autumn of 1885, the third Anglo-Burmese War broke out, the inevitable consequence of seven years' misrule. The

Burmese Army, of which the Kinwun Mingyi was the nominal Commander-in-Chief, was quite unprepared to undertake operations of any kind. His pacific and conciliatory counsels were spurned by the King and Queen, who threatened to bestow upon him a *tamein* (a lady's skirt) and *kyaukpyin* (a stone slab for rubbing the cosmetic *thanatka*) because of his feminine qualities and his showing the white feather.

Upper Burma passed under British rule and the Kinwun Mingyi tried his best to mollify the difficulties of the transition period. A more loyal servant of the Crown could not be found. In 1886-87, at his great age, he joined the late Mr. Burgess in the expedition against the *Sawbwa* (Shan Chief) of Wuntho, and he was unremitting in tendering wise and timely counsel to the British Government. In 1888 he was made a C.S.I., and when the Province was raised, in 1897, to a Lieutenant-Governorship, and equipped with a Legislative Council, he was one of the first two natives who were appointed to the Council.

In Burmese literature, he acquired undying fame as the author of the *Attathankhepa Wunnana Dhammathat* and of the "Digest of Buddhist Law," compiled under the auspices of the late Mr. Burgess, Judicial Commissioner of Upper Burma. As a scholar and poet, he was well-known to all Burmans, and, about three years ago, (*i.e.* in 1905), his unique library was acquired by the Government and deposited in the Bernard Free Library in Rangoon. As an administrator, statesman, and diplomat, his reputation is unrivalled among his countrymen, and, by the example of an untarnished, and blameless life, passed in strenuous endeavours for the advancement of literature and the promotion of the national weal, he leaves an invaluable legacy to his country. By his death Burma is much the poorer, and his place in the community can never be adequately filled by any other man.

The Kinwun Mingyi was twice married. His first wife was the Singyan *Mibaya*, one of the lesser Queens of King Shwebo Min, and his second the daughter of the Myothugyi of Alôn. There was no issue by either marriage. He adopted the two sons of the brother of his second wife.

Under date the 22nd July 1908, the following notification appeared in the *Burma Gazette*:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Herbert White) records, with deep regret, the death, on the 30th June 1908, at the age of 86 years, of U Gaung, C.S.I., known as the Kinwun Mingyi. Under the Burmese Government, the Mingyi occupied for many

years, the highest positions in the State. From the early days of British rule in Upper Burma, he was a trusted Counsellor of Government. His loyalty to the British Government was unswerving, and his influence was always exerted for the good of his country. Burma mourns one of her most distinguished sons. The Lieutenant-Governor deplores the loss of a tried and valued friend."

LORD CURZON.

WHEN it was announced in 1898 that Lord Curzon had been appointed to the Viceroyalty of India, *The Times* described the appointment as a "striking experiment." His Excellency's youth and mannerisms were against him; and doubts were expressed in some quarters as to the wisdom of nominating him to such a high and responsible office. Five years' experience has now more than justified his selection. He brought to his task exceptional qualifications of a high order, which were not possessed even by Warren Hastings, Dalhousie, or any other successful ruler of India. First and foremost, he was a successful University man and Parliamentary debater. He had gathered worldly knowledge and practical experience from journalism and extensive travels, and had studied Oriental institutions and systems of government in Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Japan and Corea. When a keen insight and sound judgment, assisted by strenuous energy and a healthy imagination, were brought to bear on such extensive knowledge and experience, a composite character was evolved, which has some resemblance to that of President Roosevelt and of Kaiser William. Equipped with such qualifications, Lord Curzon, in his recent speech on the Indian Budget, thoroughly vindicated his policy and proved himself to be the most versatile, if not the greatest, Pro-consul who has ever governed India. During the past five years, there has been no war on the Indian frontiers, and the policy pursued was one "not of aggression but of consolidation and restraint." The North-West Frontier Province has been created, and successful efforts have been made to increase the spirit of contentment and harmony among the border tribes, and to enlist their co-operation in safeguarding the long line of frontier. The Mission to Tibet, which was much animadverted upon in Parliament, was thus defended by His Excellency: "We do not want to occupy it, but we also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite

content to let it remain in the hands of our allies and friends ; but if rival and unfriendly influences creep up to it, and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelled to intervene, because a danger would thereby grow up that might, one day, menace our security." However solid may be the work done by His Excellency in the domain of foreign affairs in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet and Siam, that accomplished by him for the internal improvement of India, and for the progress, contentment, and happiness of the millions committed to his charge, will be more permanent and appreciated by the people. In spite of famine and the continued prevalence of plague, the Indian revenue rose from 68½ millions in 1899 to 83 millions in 1904. From railways and irrigation, an annual surplus of 1½ millions sterling was obtained. During the past five years, there has been a succession of surpluses amounting to an average of three millions sterling per annum. Enjoying such a plethora of funds, the Government of India were in a position to remit land revenue amounting to nearly two crores of rupees, and to advance to cultivators, during the quinquennium, between five and six crores of rupees for the purchase of seed and the provision of capital. Last year, taxation was remitted for the first time during the past two decades, Government thereby sacrificing about £1,400,000 annually in respect of the salt and income taxes. The most enduring and beneficial boon conferred upon India by His Excellency is the educational reform, which embraces every phase of educational activity, literary, technical, commercial and agricultural. An extra grant of forty lakhs of rupees a year has been given to the Local Governments, for three years in succession in order to carry out the necessary educational reforms, and a contribution of 25 lakhs has been promised to the Universities to carry out the requirements of the Indian Universities Act. While fostering the spread of education, His Excellency has also been mindful of employing Natives of India more extensively in Government service, and proposes to publish a Resolution on the subject. There remain three reforms, namely, concerning railways, irrigation and police, which will be dealt with later on. On the representation of the Hon. Mr. Adamson, the police reform of Burma will be looked into independently of the general question affecting the whole of India. Lord Curzon wound up his long and eloquent speech with the following summary: "The Government of India in my time has been involved in many controversies and has had to bear the brunt of much attack. Perhaps, when the smoke of battle has

blown aside, it may be found that, from this period of stress and labour, has emerged an India better equipped to face the many problems, which confront her, stronger and better guarded on her frontiers, with her agriculture, her industries, her commerce, her education, her irrigation, her railways, her army and her police brought up to a higher state of efficiency; with every section of her administrative machinery in better repair, with her credit re-established, her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and their loyalty strengthened."

Lord Curzon intends to leave India in May (1904) for his well-earned holiday. He will stay the whole of the summer in England, returning to India about October. Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras, officiates for him during his absence. We earnestly hope that, as already arranged, Lord Curzon will return to India and stay out a fresh term of two years and that the impending General Election at home will not deprive us of a Viceroy who has put new life and vigour into the great machinery of government and, more than any of his predecessors, has shown himself anxious to consult the people about impending changes, to reason with them and to convince them by facts and arguments.

MR. TODD-NAYLOR, I.C.S.

ON the 6th August 1910, Burma lost an able, talented, and sympathetic officer by the premature and unexpected death of the Hon'ble Mr. Henry Paul Todd-Naylor, C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A. (Oxon) I.C.S., Commissioner of Mandalay Division, and Member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council. He was educated at Shrewsbury and University College, Oxford, and was appointed to the Indian Civil Service after the examination of 1880. He arrived in India on the 14th December 1882, and served in Bengal as an Assistant Magistrate and Collector. The incorporation of Upper Burma into the British Empire necessitated the transfer of a number of officers from India, and Mr. Todd-Naylor was transferred to Burma as Assistant Commissioner in March 1886. He served at Thayetmyo, Tharrawaddy, and Paungdè; and his propensities for hunting dacoits were not brought into requisition till he was transferred in June 1887, to Pyuntaza, which then formed a Subdivision of Shwegyin district. Pyuntaza was an Alsatia, a sanctuary for debtors and criminals. It was the meeting-point of the three

districts of Toungoo, Shwegyin, and Pegu and its contiguity to the Pegu Yoma rendered it a safe asylum to those who had violated the law. The Subdivision was at once reduced to peace and order, and the outlaws were either driven out or were accounted for within the short space of five months. Mr. Todd-Naylor's services were so highly appreciated by Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Chief Commissioner of Burma, that in November of the same year, he was appointed to be Deputy Commissioner of Shwegyin in succession to Mr. K. G. Burne. The district was disturbed by the Mayangyaung *póngyi*, who had raised the standard of rebellion on behalf of the Burmese régime. Mr. Todd-Naylor was allowed a free hand, and his work of pacification was thoroughly effective. Here, it was that the Burmans, who much admired and respected him, conferred on him the *sobriquet* of "Kya-Ayebaing" or "Tiger Deputy Commissioner" because of the suddenness and wariness of his attacks on gangs of dacoits, rebels, and outlaws. His *modus operandi* was marvellously simple: he carried no kit, commissariat stores, or any other *impedimenta*, and was ubiquitous and overwhelming in his movements. He could walk across paddy fields, wade through swamps, climb up hills, swim across rivers and streams, and live on the simplest food of the villagers which often consisted of cold rice and *ngapi*. The rebels and dacoits, who had received moral support from the emissaries of the late Burmese Government, and who sprang up, like mushrooms, all over the country, were cowed by the superhuman energy, and, above all, by the omnipresence of the wondrous prodigy, and they either surrendered themselves to the British authorities, or withdrew their support from their disloyal leaders. In April 1888, Mr. Todd-Naylor was transferred to Tharrawaddy, which was in a disturbed condition. The district, which was always notorious for its criminality, was seething with sedition and rebellion, and the rebels went to the length of cutting down the telegraph wires and tearing off the rails of the Prome-Rangoon Railway. Here also, Mr. Todd-Naylor played the rôle of "Pacifactor," and his efforts were crowned with success. In September of the following year, Magwe, a district in Upper Burma, showed signs of unrest, and Mr. Todd-Naylor was forthwith transferred to it as being the best officer to deal with it. The expectation entertained at headquarters of his ability, endurance, energy, and resource in pacifying a disturbed locality were more than justified, and, in recognition of his eminent services, he was, in January 1890, created a Companion of the Order of the Indian

Empire, and was confirmed in his appointment as Deputy Commissioner in the following May. It was while serving in this district, that he was wounded for the first and only time. He had never been wounded before in all these fights and hand-to-hand struggles, and his Burmese friends and subordinates thought that he led a charmed life, like Sir George Scott, K.C.I.E., Superintendent of the Southern Shan States, who recently retired, or like the Chinese Gordon, who stemmed the tide of the Taiping rebellion in 1860-64. Indeed, it is said that, while fighting gangs of evil-doers, he always wore next to his skin a mysterious waistcoat covered with cabalistic squares, and that he ordered his Indian and Burmese officers to keep to the rear and behind himself. In 1892, he rested from his labours. He took furlough, graduated M. A. at Oxford, and rowed in his College boat. It will be rather a long story to follow his interesting and varied career as Deputy Commissioner from district to district and as Commissioner from Division to Division. An exciting period of suppressing the elements of disorder was followed by a period of reconstruction, which was no less important from an administrative point of view. It will, perhaps, be sufficient, if it is stated that he was confirmed as a Commissioner in 1903, and that six years later, he was created a C.S.I., and was appointed to act as Financial Commissioner and to be Vice-President of the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council.

Mr. Todd-Naylor was scarcely 50 years old at the time of his death. He always enjoyed robust health, and, though he had aged considerably, as compared with his contemporaries, he could never be persuaded to believe that the infirmities of age were creeping over him. He led too strenuous a life, and his habits were too Spartan. His extraordinary fondness for *polo*, and his midnight rides of 80 or 100 miles, at a stretch, with relays of ponies at different stages of the journey, must have produced a strain and sapped his powers of vitality insiduously. He was keen, alert, and enthusiastic in all that he undertook to do; and his activity, both physical and mental, was incessant. The idea of taking sufficient rest never struck him; and the expenditure of his energy was, therefore, never commensurate with his powers of recuperation, and he fell a martyr to his high sense of duty. Very few European officials could ever succeed, like him, in acquiring a great amount of respect and confidence of the Burmans. He had a magnetic personality, and, like Lord Kitchner, never forgot the services rendered to him. He was a stranger to the art of diplomacy,

and called a spade by its proper name. With all his faults of impatience, irritability, and imperiousness, he was held in high esteem for his kindness, firmness and justice, for his loyalty to his friends, for his sincerity and straightforwardness, and for his "playing the game" in all matters. His genuine fondness for the Burmans and his ready sympathy with them in their troubles were highly appreciated. His subordinates of all races have lost in him a kind benefactor, who can never be replaced by any other in their respect, affection and admiration. Sir Harvey Adamson but voices the public opinion of the whole province when, in the *Burma Gazette* of the 13th August 1910, he mourns the loss of his personal friend and trusted adviser in the following terms: "The Lieutenant-Governor has heard with the deepest regret of the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Henry Paul Todd-Naylor, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Commissioner of Mandalay Division. Mr. Todd-Naylor's service in Burma during more than twenty-four years, was conspicuous by his eminent qualities of energy, self-reliance and sound judgment. He was a born leader of men, a skilled administrator and a trusted adviser of the Government. The Burma Commission deplores the loss of one of the ablest of its members, a feeling which will be shared by all classes of the community."

A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

MR. TAW SEIN KO, who is Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey in Burma, received the K.I.H. decoration for meritorious public service at the time of the coronation of the late King Edward VII in 1903. He is President of the Society for the Prevention of Infantile Mortality, and a member of the Educational Syndicate in which capacity he has rendered much valued assistance to the Local Government, especially with regard to the vexed and difficult questions connected with monastic and vernacular education. His services in promoting a better understanding between the British and Chinese Governments have been very great. Almost from the time he rejoined Government service from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1893, as Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma, he has shown a keen interest in Chinese affairs, and in 1897 he was sent to Peking for a year to perfect his knowledge of the Chinese language. Soon after his return, he was appointed Government Burmese Translator in Rangoon, and

later held the dual position of Archaeologist and Adviser on Chinese Affairs, for nearly two years. During the Boxer Rising in 1899-1900, Mr. Taw Sein Ko was able to render valuable assistance to the India Office in London by reason of his deep knowledge of the Chinese. So certain were the people of Europe that Sir Robert Hart and the members of the Foreign legations had been massacred, that the obituaries of the Inspector-General of Customs and of the Foreign Ministers accredited to Peking appeared in the London "*Times*." Mr. Taw Sein Ko, however, maintained that such was not so, and he was afterwards complimented by the English Government for the hopeful and correct information he had given. During these anxious times, he was Warden of the Burmese frontier, his duty being to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese officials. How far he succeeded may be deduced from the fact that the British frontier was undisturbed although the French frontier in Tonking was in a very troubled state. In 1900 there was a collision between the Chinese and British troops on a disputed portion of the frontier, but when war seemed imminent, Mr. Taw Sein Ko arranged a meeting between the Governor of Momein (Tengyueh) and the Deputy Commissioners of Bhamo and Myitkyina, by means of which matters in dispute were adjusted, which had threatened to give rise to serious complications between England and China. He has always seen great possibilities in the trade with South-West China and he used every effort to promote facilities for its development. To this end two things seemed to him immediately necessary. The first was the construction of a light railway between Bhamo and Tengyueh and the second was a realization of the fact that to successfully trade with the Chinese, the merchant must have a knowledge of the Chinese language at his disposal. He, therefore, proposed the establishment of an Anglo-Chinese School at Bhamo for the training of qualified clerks and interpreters, who would afterwards enter into the employment of British or Chinese merchants. Both of these suggestions were adopted. In 1902 Mr. Taw Sein Ko returned to his old duties as Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma, and from 1903 to 1905 he was again Archaeologist and Adviser on Chinese Affairs. When the appointment of Adviser of Chinese Affairs was abolished he was given the position of Examiner in Chinese, and in 1906, when the designation of Government Archaeologist was altered to Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, he was appointed to that office. He is a

contributor to the "*Indian Antiquary*" of Bombay, on historical, philological and antiquarian subjects, to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, published in London, on Chinese reforms and Far Eastern affairs, and to the local journals, like the *Rangoon Gazette*, *Buddhism*, and *Our Monthly* now defunct. A leading Buddhist, he assisted in the election and installation of the Buddhist Archbishop in 1903 and in the revival of the Examination in Buddhist Theology in 1895. He is the trusted adviser of British officials in all matters relating to the Burmans and their Country as well as to China and the Chinese. Desiring to reorganize and improve the system of indigenous education so as to harmonize it with the traditions and genius of the Burmese race, Sir Herbert White, K.C.I.E., who was the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, recommended to the Government of India, in 1908, that he should be appointed a member of the Indian Educational Service and be posted to duty as an Inspector of Schools in Burma. Circumstances, however, prevented the acceptance of the recommendation, and the local Department of Education failed to secure the services of an Oriental Scholar, who is in close touch with Burmese Society and institutions as well as with the sentiments and aspirations of the Burmese people. At the Delhi Durbar of the 12th December 1911, His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor (George V) was pleased to bestow on him, in person, the decoration of the Imperial Service Order. He was married to a daughter of Mr. Tan Tun, a Rangoon merchant, and has been a widower since October 1910. His father was Mr. Taw Sun, a well-known merchant of Bhamo, who died in 1875. He was born in 1864.

CHAPTER VI.—SUPERSTITION AND FOLKLORE.

MAUNG* PAUK KYAING,† OR THE DULL BOY WHO BECAME A KING.

IN former times at Tetkatho, ‡ there were congregated, for their education, sons of Mins, Pönnas, Thatès and Thagywès,§ from all parts of Zabudeik.|| Among them was MAUNG PAUK KYAING, a young man of obscure birth, who, despite his long residence at the schools, was found to have made no progress whatever in his studies. His restless energy, his superior physical strength, and his aversion to books, convinced those who came in contact with him that his sphere lay not in secluded cells and cloisters, but in the wide, wide, work-a-day world. His preceptor, therefore, taught him the following *three formulæ* and enjoined on him to make a good use of them as occasion required :—

- (1) *Thwā : bā myā : hkayī : yauk*—Distance is gained by travel ;
- (2) *Me : bā myā : sagā : ya*—Information by inquiry ;
- (3) *Ma eik ma nē a'het shē*—And long life by wakefulness.

MAUNG PAUK KYAING bade his preceptor good-bye and started for his home. Arrived there, he could find no congenial occupation for his restless spirit, so he resolved to leave his country and carve out a fortune for himself.

* The transliteration, or rather the method of rendering Burmese sounds,—for strict transliteration is impossible,—adopted, is that usually used officially in Burma, so that those acquainted with the Burmese language may at once know how the words are spelt in the original. Pronounce *ei* as short *é*, *ae* as in *awful* ; *ā* as *ai* in *air* ; *th* as in English, i.e., as in *the* or *thing* according to context. In aspirated consonants *h* is placed before the letter, thus *ht*, *hp*, *hs*, though it is pronounced after the consonant as usual ; but in the case of aspirated semi-vowels, it is pronounced before the consonant, thus *ht*, *hm*, *hs* and so on. Other sounds are pronounced as is usual in the Hunterian system. The heavy accent of Burmese is rendered here by a mark resembling the English colon, after the letter affected ; and the light staccato accent by . . . under the letter affected.

† Maung Pauk Kyaing is a well-known character in legendary Burmese history, as Thadoongamaing. He was the ninth of the 2nd dynasty of Sākya Kings supposed to have reigned at Tagaung.

‡ Tetkatho = Takshasilā (Skr.) = Taxila (Greek), near Rāwal Pindī in the Panjab.

§ Mins, Pönnas, Thatès, and Thagywès = Kshatriyas, Brāhmins, and Vaisyas ; Thatès and Thagywès being classed under the third caste. Observe the precedence accorded to the warrior-caste, to which Gotama Buddha belonged.

|| Zabudeik = Jambudvīpa, the southern continent in the cosmogony of the Buddhists.

Applying the first formula of his preceptor to his case, he travelled on and on and passed through strange scenes and countries. During his journey, he asked the people he met questions on various subjects, and gained much information. At last he reached Tagaung,† the most ancient capital of the kings of Burma. His inquisitive spirit soon made him acquainted with the condition of the country he was in. The King had been dead for sometime, and his *Queen had taken a Naga*** or a huge serpent, for her spouse, much against the wish of her people. The ministers and her other subjects wanted a human being to rule over them; but their wish was foiled because every one of the candidates elected by them to be their king, *was killed by the Naga after passing a single night in the Palace.*

Maung Pauk Kyaing became desirous of aspiring to the hand of the widowed Queen, in spite of the rumours that all that had done so met with sure death. He accordingly intimated his desire to the ministers, and was, in due course, ushered into the Palace. He observed that the Queen was sedate and silent, and he vainly tried to put her in good humour by his joviality.

Night came on, and the Queen put on her blandishments to induce *Maung Pauk Kyaing* to fall into a slumber. But he was too sharp for her. He had ascertained that all the former aspirants to her hand were killed by a *Naga*, whose spouse she was, and that *to sleep in the Palace was to sleep for ever.*

He, therefore, pretended to go off to sleep and snore as loudly as possible. The Queen slept by his side. As soon as he found out she had fallen into a natural slumber, he got up and placed the trunk of a plaintain tree on the bed, covered it up with his own blanket, and retired behind a screen to see what would happen. He had not to wait long. Out from the darkness came a huge serpent hissing and wriggling along in a fearful manner. It reached the place where the Queen was sleeping, and, taking a well-directed aim, its head descended on the plaintain tree with a tremendous crash. The *Naga*

† Tagaung is on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, and lies about a hundred miles north of Mandalay. It is supposed to be the most ancient capital of Burma, and to have remained as such during the reign of 50 kings. Its founder was Abhiraja (Abhiraja), who immigrated from the valley of the Ganges long before the birth of Gotama Buddha (623 B. C.)

** The Nagas play an important part in Burmese folklore. They are represented as huge serpents; but, as a matter of fact, they are the indigenous Naga races inhabiting the country.

could move no more. Its fangs had been deeply buried in the fibrous tree, and tenaciously held there, while MAUNG PAUK KYAING with the quickness of lightning, darted forth from his hiding-place and plunged his dagger into *the Naga, cutting it in twain.*

In due course, MAUNG PAUK KYAING was crowned King. There was great rejoicing and jollification among his subjects, but the Queen would not cast off her sullen and melancholy aspect.

The news of the good fortune that befell MAUNG PAUK KYAING soon reached his parents, who accordingly set out for their son's kingdom. On nearing Tagaung, they rested under a tree on which *two crows*, who were husband and wife, were perched. *The male bird said:* "Wife, to-morrow we shall have a good feast." "Why?" asked the female bird. "Because the King is to be executed. He and the Queen, you know, laid a *wager* that, on his failure to *solve a certain conundrum*, he was to forfeit his life but that if he was successful, the Queen was to die." "What may that conundrum be?" It is this:—

Htaung pe : lo hsók

Yá pe : lo chók

Chit tè lá ayo : sado : sagyin lók.

"A thousand is given to tear ;

A hundred to sew ;

And the bones of the loved one

Are made into hair-pins."

The female crow observed that its solution was very easy and said:—"This conundrum refers to the *Nāga*, the loved one of the Queen. A thousand coins were paid for tearing off its skin, and a hundred to sew it into pillows and cushions ; and its bones were made into hair pins, which are worn by the Queen."

The aged parents of Maung Pauk Kyaing overheard the conversation of the crows, and, with increased speed, they resumed their journey. They were just in time to save the life of their son ; and the Queen, in accordance with the terms of the wager, offered herself to be killed. But the King, with great magnanimity, characteristic of a real hero, spared her life.

Eventually the Queen became reconciled to Maung Pauk Kyaing, who assumed the title of THADONAGANAING; †† and they reigned happily together. ‡‡

THE TREE OF FORGETFULNESS.

IN studying the myths and traditions of the various races of the world, we are struck by a great similarity between them all. The "Valhalla" and the "Butterfly spirit," the "river Lethe" and the "Tree of Forgetfulness" are but instances of what Pischel has so happily termed the common mechanism of the human mind. And now in this short article we propose to say something about the Burmese (မေ့ဝေ) or the Tree of Forgetfulness.

When a Burman dies some coin—be it copper or silver, and that depends on the means of his friends and relatives—is put into his mouth and a bundle of curry and rice is placed beside him before he is consigned to the grave. The coin is meant to be the wherewithal to pay his ferry-hire in crossing over a stream which marks the boundary between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and the bundle of rice to be his provision for the journey. After hovering about its old haunts for seven days and seven nights, the deceased Burman's spirit goes to the bank of the stream over which it is soon ferried by some other spirits after duly paying down the ferry-hire. It is then led to the presence of the "Lord of Hell" the Pluto of the Burmans. There it is adjudged to suffer hell torments or to be forthwith released from hell-bounds, the judgment in either case depending on its merits or demerits acquired while being in the flesh. If the latter sentence is passed, or if its term of suffering has expired, the spirit is led to the Me-bin (မေ့ဝေ) where it forgets all about its sufferings and all about what has transpired during its previous existence. This tree has a dark-green thick foliage affording a pleasant and cool shade. It is not unlike a big lusty mango tree in the height of the rainy season. The spirit's power of remembrance about its previous existence depends on the length of time it remains under this tree. Many accounts have been told about children remembering what they did in their last existence, and Burmans attribute this fact to their having remained for a short time under the (မေ့ဝေ). In the Henzada district, once a

†† Thadonaganaling—"the Prince who conquered the Nagas;" (vide note * *).

‡‡ The above tale is widely known among the Burmese.

Karen died and was reborn into the family of the petty shod keeper, with whom he had had dealings. Extraordinarily retentive was the memory of this child: he could remember who his wife, parents, and relatives were—and could identify them too—and the place and quantity of the treasure he had hidden when he was a Karen. The question of the revival of Personality after death would, indeed, present an interesting subject for investigation to the Psychical Societies.

PITCH AND TOSS: OR THE COLLAPSE OF A BURMESE MEDIUM.

PO GAUNG is a small village of some 200 inhabitants situated a few miles distant to the north of Prome. It is bounded on its southern side by a small muddy stream which empties into the Irrawaddy its foul waters incipient with cholera and malaria. It is on the northern bank of this stream that the scene of our story is laid.

It was a mild, soft day, and the crimson sun was just bidding farewell to our earth, when two Burmans were seen issuing from a mango-grove hard by. One of them was rather tall for a Burman. He was still in his prime and appeared to be provided with a good store of strength and hardihood. The other seemed to be his junior by some ten years. Jovial and sprightly was this *Kalatha*, and seemed to be prepared for any tricks as young men full of life generally are. All the way he laughed and joked with his elder companion, whose face in contrast with his, wore a somewhat thoughtful cast. They now came near a large banyan tree, when the younger man said: "U Po, I am extremely thirsty, and somewhat stiff about my knee joints. What say you to our having just a wee drop of toddy?"

"Maung Gale," replied the elder man, "you seem to be very thoughtless. You know very well that the sun is going down and that this place is notorious for dacoits. Well armed though we are, I have a presentiment that we shall be robbed of our bag of money. If such an emergency happens—which I hope not—even sobriety would do little to keep our heads on our shoulders."

"Cowardly, foul-mouthed old man: *I must* have my own way in this matter, whatever presentiment you may have. Please lend me your *da* and wait here for me till I return." So saying, he directed his steps to a small toddy shop, which as

about a couple of hundred yards distant. In this boisterous, loathsome den, the villains of the village were holding their high carousals. Conspicuous among these thirsty souls might be seen two swarthy, strong-limbed men whose faces bespoke the black souls within. With their *pasos* tightly tucked round their loins and brandishing their legs in the air, and producing a loud clapping sound by striking their biceps with the palms of their hands, they went swaggering about the place and in their besotted state were yelling out, "*Yaukkyā-bathā-makyaukbu, masannhin; yè lín lāyè.*" "man as I am, and the son of my father as I am, whom should I be afraid of? Don't try my mettle. If you are brave, come on." When our young traveller appeared, these two men stopped their vauntings and assumed a countenance as grave as that of a *póngyi*. Addressing him as "Maung" and putting on a smiling face, they beckoned him and gave him a right hearty welcome. They offered him some fried beef, fowl curry, and oranges; and, in short, appeared to be as gracious and hospitable as any stranger could be to another. Beguiling their time with cracking broad jokes, one cup after another was filled and handed over to the younger stranger, till he reached a state in drunkenness when one loses his control over himself, and he answered the questions of others as if he were in a mesmerised trance. Well, by this means, these two cunning dacoits, for dacoits they were of the right stamp, elicited the following facts from the drunken, helpless young man: that he had come from Prome to buy some bricks; that his uncle, U Po, was his sole companion; that he had brought Rs 500 in a gunny bag; and lastly that his uncle was left in charge of the money under a large banyan tree in the neighbourhood. In continuation of their enquiries, they asked: "Young man, then, is your uncle armed at all?"

"No," said he; "I have brought away his *da*, the only weapon we have between us." The dacoits gave a wink at each other and laughed a chuckling laugh. Soon the *da* mentioned above was seen to descend with a mighty force on the neck of the poor, deluded young man, who had foolishly allowed his animal senses to get the mastery over his reason.

Meanwhile, events were transpiring which needs be recorded here for the better understanding of our story. When his nephew left him for the toddy-shop, the elder traveller watched his receding form gradually disappearing in the darkness. Somehow or other he felt uneasy and grew restless. Something within him prompted him to entertain dismal forebodings

about the young man. "But how can I stop him?" said he to himself half audibly; "he has been a spoilt child all his life; and I am to blame for that. I cannot suffer myself to cross his wishes. However, let him have his way this time. May *Paya*, *Thagya*, and the *Nats* watch over him." Alas! this indulgence in hope proved fatal both to the uncle and the nephew, as our story will show.

About half an hour after Maung Gale had left him alone, U Po noticed that the revelry in the yonder toddy-shop ran high, and among a lot of confused and boisterous noises, he could clearly distinguish the silvery voice and the merry laughter of his nephew. Another half an hour, and the young man did not make his appearance. Then all of a sudden there was a silence as complete as the silence of death. "Ah!" exclaimed U Po, "the silence is too ominous. Perhaps, my nephew has been murdered by the rascals. His blood is on my head." So saying, he gnashed his teeth, and bit his lip. But he was at a complete loss as to what steps he should take. Soon the deep baying of a hunting hound was heard, and two dark objects were seen following it in the direction of the banyan tree. These were the dacoits. U Po knew this and, leaving his five hundred rupees bag on the ground, ensconced himself on two banyan branches. But all this precaution was unnecessary. His death had been decreed, and die he must. For when the dacoits' hound came under the tree, it set up a most furious yell, and one of the dacoits lifting his musket to his shoulder, fired at it. And what came down? It was U Po's corpse with a heavy thud.

About three years after this event, at about 6.30 one evening in the last week of December, a cowherd came running from the fields almost breathless and reported to the *ywagaung* that he had seen sitting in the fork of a banyan tree, on the verge of the mango grove, a mysterious person with a red turban tied round his head and holding bouquets of red flowers in his hand and that the very sight of him sent a thrill of terror into him and made his hair stand on end. "Ah," said the old *ywagaung* "I know what you have seen. It's a *nat*. Go and assemble the villagers and let us do honour to his Celestial Majesty." The news spread like wild fire; and, after a short time, a batch of people, consisting of old men, women, and children, *apyos* and *lubyos*, was collected. And the *cortego* with the *ywagaung* at its head marched down to the banyan tree. On their arrival there, candles were lighted, cocoanuts, plantains, and *saungghnyin* rice were offered to the

celestial lord of the banyan tree, and a *clairvoyant* was found who was willing to conduct the ceremony. This *clairvoyant* procured a *daunglan* a wooden tray with a stand—and having placed on it a bunch of plantains, a cocoanut, and some *kaungghnyin*, held it between her hands, and knelt down before the tree. She then, in a loud clear tone prayed the *nat* to reveal himself through her and communicate his wishes to the villagers. This done, she danced round the offering, till she had worked herself into a seemingly frantic fit. Then a loud cry of "*Nat win bi*—the *nat* has possessed the medium" arose from the crowd and all pressed forward to catch the scarcely audible words spoken in a faltering tone, which were falling from the lips of the medium. The substance of these words was found to tally exactly with what we have related.

Henceforth the jurisdiction of this *nat* was recognised within 20 miles round the banyan tree. A *natsin*—a small hut—was erected for his habitation and *nat* dances were annually held. Twenty years passed away and the number of his votaries was still on the increase. With this increase his fame spread far and wide. People thronged from every quarter to consult his oracle and always showed a great eagerness to do all that they could to advance his honour and glory. By the aid of their purse the *natsin* was considerably enlarged; a subscription box and a *nat* idol were placed in it; and live fowls were let loose near the banyan tree as offerings to the *nat*.

Now it happened that in the same village there lived one Po Maung, the son of a Thugyi. He had inherited an ample fortune from his deceased father, but now, through his extravagance, folly, thoughtlessness, and association with wicked boon companions, was a ruined man, and, to drown his sorrow, had become one of the most ardent frequenters of the opium-shop, toddy-shop, and the gaming house. On his daily visit to his favourite toddy-shop, he had often noticed the subscription box always replenished with copper and silver, and he generally cast a wistful eye towards it. He had also noticed the luscious fruit spread before the idol, which actually made his mouth water, and the fat fowls which promised good eating. But his belief in the supernatural power of the *nat* and in its malignant nature towards sacrilegious persons had hitherto acted as a wholesome deterrent on him. One day, however, as he was passing the *natsin*, a bright thought flashed across his mind. He would play at pitch and toss with his "celestial guardian." He had now only a few annas left, and this course appeared to be the best one to

him. So approaching the idol in a humble posture and with his clasped hands raised to his forehead, he said: "My lord *nat*, deign to play at pitch and toss with me." At first his fate went hard against him. Pice after pice descended into the box with a metallic ring, and the poor young madcap, as chagrined as he was, did not know what to do. It is said that necessity knows no law, and that poverty drives a man to any desperation. At last one single pice was left, and Po Maung now resorted to a strategem, which completely baffled the intervention of the supernatural power of the *nat*. He said: "My Lord *nat*, this is the only pice now left to me. If you wish to go on with the game any more, you must do so under this condition, *i.e.*, *head I win, and tail you lose.*" Saying so, he did not even wait for the response. He laid his hands on the nape of the neck of the idol and made it bow its head to him as a sign indicating the assent of the dryad to his proposal. The details of the procedure in the game need not be recorded here; suffice it to say that in the evening he went home with his shoulders groaning under a heavy bag of pice.

Po Maung was now thoroughly convinced that the deity, which he had all along supposed to possess superhuman power, had no power at all over him. He became more and more assured that *nats* were, after all, a very useful class of spirits, at least to him. So from pitch and toss he went a step further. He took his fighting cock to the *natsin* and challenged the *nat* to a game of cock fighting. The bet, he humbly stated, was to be Rs. 10 to be paid in instalments, should the pice in the subscription box not amount to that sum. He then selected the leanest cock from among the sacred poultry and set his cock at it. The result of the fight may be anticipated. The sacred cock turned tail and fled leaving Po Maung the possessor of Rs. 5 and a creditor of the *nat*.

But with all his tricks to get money from the sacred box, and the amount of money he actually got, Po Maung was not satisfied with his ingenuity in money-making. He devised another plan to cheat the *nat*. He must challenge the *nat* to a diving match. Early one morning, he was seen wending his way towards the banyan tree. On arriving there, he knelt down as usual before the idol, and, with a chuckling smile on his face, raised up his clasped hands and said: "My lord *nat*, you have been beaten in all the games we have had. Let's alter our programme. Let's have a diving match." This prayer ended, he swung the idol on his shoulder and marched down towards the river-bank. Po Maung then took off his *gaungbaung*,

tucked up his *paso*, and waded knee-deep into the water. Crying "Lord *nat*, you must agree to this condition: that whoever appears first out of the water shall win," he immersed himself and the idol into the water. Of course Po Maung won, because the idol of the poor *nat* was trodden under his feet and kept under the water.

A few years after this, I happened to visit the village, and, observing the dilapidated condition of the *natsin*, I made enquiries about my old acquaintance and was informed that, not being able to bear the tyranny, oppression, and chicanery of Po Maung, it had fled, after duly manifesting itself through its medium before its votaries and informing them the reason of its doing so.

THE SPIRITUAL WORLD OF THE BURMESE.

IN the history of civilisation of every country, an investigation into the prehistoric condition of its people is highly interesting. Such an inquiry is, however, beset with much difficulty. The principal subjects which present themselves for treatment are language, antiquities, mythology, and custom; and a mass of evidence, direct or indirect, is required to establish a generalisation. It is generally admitted that such generalisations are not always based on absolute truth, at least so far as identity or similarity of mythology and custom is concerned, because such identity or similarity may, as often as not, be ascribed to ethnic affinity, historic connection, or to the common mechanism of the human mind; and the difficulty of the subject is further enhanced by the fusion of historical realities and mythological fictions, and by the absence of reliable data. But, where the ethnology of a nation has been established beyond doubt, the inquirer no longer gropes his way in the dark but treads on firm ground. In the case of the Burmese people, their affinity to the Mongoloid race has been proved, and the history of the prehistoric Burman is but the history of the numerous tribes whose habitat extends from Siberia to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Or, to come nearer home, the condition of the prehistoric Burman is reflected in that of his congeners, the Chins, Karens, and Kachins of the present day. Centuries of culture and the adoption of Buddhism have transformed the Burman into what he is to-day, while the surrounding tribes still remain in their primitive condition

However, among the Burmese people, deep under the fabric of Buddhism lies the substratum of indigenous beliefs of pre-historic times, which have been collectively and conveniently termed *Nat-worship*. The origin of the word *nat* is somewhat involved in obscurity. Sir Arthur Phayre is disposed to derive it from the Sanskrit word "nāth," meaning a lord, master, superior, the corresponding form being "nātha." Probably the word is indigenous, and the phonetic resemblance, though striking, is purely accidental, because its corresponding forms are found in the languages of north Asia, and because Marco Polo mentions Natigay as being one of the gods of the Tartars of the thirteenth century A.D. He says: "This is the fashion of their religion. They say there is a Most High God of heaven, whom they worship daily with thurible and incense, but they pray to Him only for health of mind and body. [But] they have [also] a certain [other] God of theirs called Natigay and they say he is the God of the earth, who watches over their children, cattle, and crops. They show him great worship and honour, and every man hath a figure of him in his house, made of felt and cloth; and they also make in the same manner images of his wife and children. The wife they put on the left hand, and the children in front. And when they eat, they take the fat of the meat and grease the God's mouth withal, as well as the mouths of his wife and children. Then they take of the broth and sprinkle it before the door of the house; and that done, they deem that their God and his family have had their share of the dinner" (Yule's edition, vol. I, p. 248).

After the introduction of Buddhism, the term *nat* without losing its original and indigenous signification, was used as a synonym for *deva*, and was applied to the beings, who, in Buddhist mythology, inhabit the six regions situated between the world of men and the abode of the Brahmas.

The first speculative philosophy in which the primitive man indulged appears to have been the investigation of the cause of his being. "Whence came I into this world, and through whose instrumentality?" was one of the questions he would have asked himself. The worship of the phallus in Greece, of the Linga in India, and of ancestors in China and adjacent countries, is doubtless the outcome of such speculation regarding the first cause; and to primitive minds these objects of worship afford a satisfactory solution of the inquiry into the great unknown. Besides, objectivity and subjectivity are psychological conditions which the mind of a person uneducated or in a barbarous or semi-civilised state is incapable

of differentiating. To him the phenomena of life and death are wondrous miracles, and, in his imagination, there exists beyond the grave a world of spirits endowed with material appetites and all other attributes of sentient beings.

According to the indigenous belief of the Burmese, man is regarded as being constituted of two component parts, *vis.*, his material body, and his *leikpya* or butterfly-spirit, which the Karens call *la*, and the Chins *klo*. Tylor in his "Primitive Culture" (vol. I, p. 387) says: "The conception of a personal soul or spirit among the lower races may be defined as follows. It is a thin unsubstantial human image; in its nature, a sort of vapour, film, or shadow; the cause of life and thought in the individual it animates; independently possessing the personal consciousness and volition of its corporeal owner, past or present; capable of leaving the body far behind to flash swiftly from place to place; mostly impalpable and invisible, yet also manifesting physical power, and especially appearing to men, waking or asleep, as a phantasm separate from the body of which it bears the likeness; able to enter into, possess, and act in the bodies of other men, of animals, and even of things." The Burmese also believe that this soul or spirit is capable of leaving its living tenement, either in sleep or illness, and stories have been related of its experiences. It is said that the spirit of an old Burmese lady, who was seriously ill, visited hell, and the accounts we have, on her recovery, of her journey thither, tallied with what she had been taught in childhood and youth.

On death, the souls go to Hades, which is below the earth. There they are adjudged by their Rhadamanthos, the Nga Thein of the Chins, but whose indigenous name the Burmans have forgotten. This awful judge sits under a tree, and his dog watches by him. The tree is called the "tree of forgetfulness," because spirits passing under it forget their experience on earth. Stories, however, have been related of persons who, because of their exemption, through their extraordinary merit, from passing under the tree, could relate about their past life; and an instance is related where property was restored to such a re-incarnated child.

The virtuous go to a happy abode, and the wicked are doomed to suffer in hell.

The world of the dead is separated from the world of the living by a stream of water, over which souls are ferried across. It is for the payment of ferry-toll on this stream that some silver or copper coin is always placed in the mouth of a dead Burman, as in that of a dead German peasant, and provisions

are likewise provided for the refection of the spirit of the deceased on its lonesome journey.

Among the Burmese people, most of these beliefs and practices are, however, passing away before the light of education and western civilisation. Already the Burmans have forgotten about Hli, the supreme goddess of the Chins, who laid 101 eggs, from which mankind sprang. But traces of such a belief in their Æonic origin still exists, as evidenced by their division of the nations of the earth into 101 races, and by the existence of many mythical legends whose heroes were born of eggs.

It will be seen from what has been stated above that the theory of the existence of the soul after death is diametrically opposed to the tenets of Buddhism. According to that religion, there is no soul or *Atma*. When a person dies, *karma* or deed-result survives him, and serves as a nucleus of his next existence. But, according to the indigenous faith of the Burmese people, the *leikpya* or butterfly-spirit survives after death, and, either lives on as a disembodied spirit in happiness or misery, or is again re-incarnated to continue its course of existence in flesh.

Before proceeding further, it would be conducive to a comprehensive understanding of the subject to give a short outline of the system of faith which is common to the Chins, Karens, Kachins, and other wild tribes of Burma, and traces of which are still found among the Burmans. The conception of a supreme being and of heaven and hell is extremely vague among these people, and their adoration and worship are given to spirits, who are believed to exercise interference in human affairs. These spirits may be broadly divided into five classes :—(1) personal spirits, who watch over the interests of individual persons; (2) family or house spirits, who preside over the destinies of families; (3) communal spirits, who are the tutelary gods of clans and tribes, and the extent of whose territorial jurisdiction is clearly defined; (4) the *genii* or dryads, who inhabit trees and rocks, hills and mountains, rivers and streams, lakes and seas; and (5) spirits, who are doomed to continue their existence in a disembodied state. The personal spirits are evidently the souls which animate human beings, and which are supposed to haunt their abode when in the flesh for seven days and nights; the family spirits are the *manes* of ancestors, whose worship is common to the Mongols, Chinese, Hindus and the ancient Romans; the communal spirits are the souls of departed heroes, the worship

of whom forms the basis of Shamanism ; the *genii* are spirits who haunt objects of nature, and especially those with which are associated ideas of sublimity and power ; and the fifth and last class of spirits are those whose malignant influence has to be mitigated by propitiatory sacrifice and who have been termed "disease spirits." Of these five classes of spirits, the second, third and the fifth are the most feared, venerated, and worshipped.

In the house of some Burmese families, cocoa-nuts with a fillet of white muslin or red cloth tied round them are suspended by a cane support from a special post called the *uyudaing*. The Burmans have forgotten the origin of *uyun*, but the word or its synonym *kun* is still used in the Chin language to signify the guardian spirit of a family. Further, on the seventh day after the birth of a child, offerings consisting of cocoa-nuts, tobacco, betel-leaves, betel-nuts, rice, and *letpet* or pickled tea are made to the family spirit, and a white cotton string is tied round its wrists to signify to all evil spirits that it has been initiated into the family, and that it has been placed under the guardianship of the family *nat*. The offerings made to the family spirit as well as those made to all other *nats*, are always eaten by their devotees.

At marriages, the family *nat* is not forgotten ; he is always propitiated. This latter practice is, however, falling into desuetude among the Burmans through the influence of Buddhism.

As the adoration of saints has succeeded the worship of the *manes* in Christendom, so has the worship of the Buddha and his disciples superseded the ruder faith of ancestor-worship. However, traces of this last form of worship still exists among the Burmans of the present day. In such of the households in Burma as are tenacious of the observance of the faith and practices of their forefathers, the charred bones of parents and grandparents are carefully preserved in cases of glass, and daily offerings of rice and other eatables are placed before them, in the same manner as before the images of the Buddha. At the time of the British occupation of Mandalay in 1885, a number of gold images representing the kings and chief queens of the Alompra dynasty were found in the Palace, together with a book of odes chanted whenever they were worshipped. This form of worship finds an exact counterpart in the Mongol worship, as good deities, of the *manes* of Genghis Khan and his family.

The worship of communal spirits still obtains among the

Burmese. After harvest-time of each year, *i.e.*, say about March or April, and, after the planting of paddy has been completed, *i.e.*, in July or August, festivals in honour of *nats*, as well as of pagodas are held. The *nat* festivals are exceedingly popular, and are largely attended by the people. Those at Pagan, Amarapura, Mandalay and Lower Chindwin in Upper Burma are ancient and recognised institutions, which used to be supported by the royal bounty of Burmese Kings. In Lower Burma, however, which is inhabited chiefly by people of the Talaing race, *nat* festivals have, in a large measure, been replaced by pagoda festivals, because of the long subjection of the country to Burmese rule, and because of the successful measures adopted by the Burmans for obliterating the nationality of the Talaings, and for making them merge into that of their conquerors.

That the communal spirits are the souls of departed heroes may safely be inferred from the traditional accounts relating to their origin, and from the odes chanted at the festivals held in their honour. The following extract from Marco Polo (Yule's edition, Vol. II. p. 64) will be of interest in this connection :—

"I will tell you of a wicked thing they [the people of Carajan or Yunnan] used to do before the Great Khan conquered them. If it chanced that a man of fine person or noble birth, or some other quality that recommended him, came to lodge with those people, then they would murder him by poison or otherwise. And this they did, not for the sake of plunder, but because they believed that in this way the goodly favour and wisdom and repute of the murdered man would cleave to the house where he was slain. And in this manner many were murdered before the country was conquered by the Great Khan. But since his conquest some thirty-five years ago, these crimes and evil practice have prevailed no more; and this through dread of the Great Khan, who will not permit such things."

With reference to the above extract, it may be interesting to note that the spirits of people, who died violent deaths, are believed to live for ever in a disembodied condition exercising a powerful influence in human affairs, and that the Burmese kings of old used to have human beings buried alive at the four corners of the walls of their capital city at the time of its foundation, in order that the spirits of the deceased might keep watch and ward over the population; and by their occult influence foil the attempts of invaders to force an entry into

the city. A remnant of this barbarous custom is found at Mandalay in the hideous stone statue holding a club which stands at each of the four corners of the city walls. The persistency of this belief was manifested as late as 1885 A.D., when, during the third Anglo-Burmese war, Brahman astrologers were employed by command of Thibaw and his Chief Queen to chant incantations so as to establish a cordon of spiritual guards round the palace stockade, who would protect the royal inmates and drive off the invincible British soldiery.

As at the court of the Incas of ancient Peru, each month had its appropriate festival or festivals, so at the court of the kings of Burma, no month passed by without its attendant festivals, court functions, and ceremonies. In these festivals three elements of belief are distinctly traceable, *viz.* Buddhistic, Brahmanic, and indigenous. Those held in June may be taken as an illustration. Examinations in Buddhistic literature were held under the supervision of the State, and the successful candidates were inducted into holy orders. This was followed by a ceremony which was common to ancient India and China. The king himself ploughed with a golden plough, to notify to the people that agriculture was a noble avocation essential to the maintenance of the community. At this ceremony, the Brahman astrologers attached to the Burmese Court invoked the blessings of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, while the Burmese mediums or *nathadaws* made propitiatory offerings to the *nats* of the indigenous pantheon commonly known as the "thirty-seven rulers."

It would be interesting to give a short account of this latter pantheon, showing the apotheosis of these *nats*. It consists of "thirty-four *nats*," but the number "thirty-seven" has attained a popular fixity, because the book of odes chanted when offerings are made to them consists of thirty-seven odes, a number of the *nats* having more than one ode devoted to them. The odes are, strictly speaking, short autobiographical sketches in metre, recited by mediums when they are possessed, and are somewhat moral in their tendency, inasmuch as they impress on the audience the sin of treason, rebellion, and assassination. In the case of *nats*, who were members of the royal family, they give a succinct account of their genealogy. The pantheon is headed by the Mahāgiri *nats*, Maung Tin Dè, his wife, Shwe Na Be, his sister, Thônban Hla or Shwe Myet Hnā, and his niece, Shin Nè Mi. Maung Tin Dè was the son of a blacksmith, Maung Tin Daw, of Tagaung, an ancient capital to the north of Mandalay. The young man was noted for his great

bravery and physical strength and the King of Tagaung feared that he might become a potential centre of disaffection; he, therefore, ordered that Maung Tin Dè should be captured and killed. His would-be victim, however, eluded capture for a long while, and remained in hiding. The King then resorted to a stratagem which is still common in Oriental countries. He conferred honour on Mang Tin Dè's sister by assigning her a place in his seraglio. After the lapse of some time, the queen was cajoled to negotiate the surrender of her brother on condition that high office would be conferred on him. Relying on the royal offer of pardon, Maung Tin Dè surrendered himself. But the King did not keep his word. He himself superintended the burning of his dupe under a Sagabin tree. Loud were the plaintive cries uttered by Maung Ti Dè; and his sister hearing them, rushed to his rescue, and met with her death. The cruel King attempted to save the life of his own queen, but succeeded only in pulling her head off by the hair. After their death, the spirits of these two, brother and sister, became powerful *nats*, and inhabited the Sagabin tree. Such was their evil influence, that every human being or animal that approached the tree died mysteriously. The matter was, in due course, reported to the King, and he directed that the haunted tree should be cut down by the root and sent adrift down the river Irrawaddy. The order was carried out, and the tree was stranded at Thiipyit-sayā near Pagan, where Thinligyaung was reigning as King. This happened in the fourth century A. D. The *nats* apprised the King in a dream of their sorrowful plight, and asked him to provide them with a home. In compliance with this request, the stranded tree, of which only the trunk now remained, was taken to the Popa hill, which is of volcanic origin, and is the highest elevation in Burma. It was divided into two parts, each being about 4½ feet long. Human features were delineated on these pieces of wood with gold leaf, and these rude images were respectfully deposited in appropriate temples. Thenceforward the worship of these *nats* became a national institution, recognised and sanctioned by royalty. Subsequently, at the request of the *nats*, made through their Shamans, King Thinligyaung had golden heads made to represent them, conferred the rank and insignia of a prince of the blood on Maung Tin Dè, and those of a princess on his sister, and made to them annual offerings regularly. It is evident that since this worship was inaugurated, animal sacrifice and offerings of alcoholic spirits were made to these *nats*, for Burmese history records that in

December 1555 A.D., the Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin, the Branginoco of the early European writers, reached Pagan in the course of his progress through his newly conquered dominions, and witnessed the festival held in honour of the Mahāgiri *nat* and his sister. Noticing that intoxicants and sacrifices of white buffaloes, white oxen, and white goats were being made to the *nats*, he commanded that such a practice should henceforth cease, because it was opposed to the humanitarian doctrines of Buddhism, and because it would entail suffering in hell on those who practised it. In 1785 A.D., Bodawpaya, the great-great-grandfather of the last King of Burma had new golden heads of the *nats* made, and these were replaced in 1812 A.D. by the same King with larger and more finished heads of the same metal, weighing in the aggregate, about 2½ lbs. The Mahāgiri *nats* became the communal spirits of the Burmese nation as well as the family spirits of the King. To this day, a shrine dedicated to them may be seen under the "Centre of the Universe" in the Palace at Mandalay.

The apotheosis of the next *nats* in the Pantheon, *viz.* the brothers Shwepyyinnyinaung, follows on similar lines. About the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., Anawratazaw, King of Pagan, had in his service a *Kala* adventurer from the Talaing kingdom of Thatôn. This man married a *Baluma*, or ogress of Popa, and two sons were born to him, who were respectively named Shwepyyingyi and Shwepyyingge. When these two brothers were grown up, they took service under the King; and when the latter led an expedition to China to secure a holy tooth of Gotama Buddha, which was enshrined there, they accompanied him. The Chinese Emperor appears to have treated the Burmese King with some contempt, and to have refused to hold any communication with him. Thereupon the two brothers, who led a charmed life, and who could make themselves invisible, entered the Emperor's palace at night, drew three lines with lime on his body, and retired after writing on the walls enjoining him to meet the Burmese King. In consequence of this mysterious writing, the two rulers met in a friendly way and entered into a compact of amity and concord. In the meantime, however, the holy tooth had disappeared miraculously, and Anawratazaw returned home suffering from the pangs of disappointment. On the return journey, Shwepyyingyi and Shwepyyingge incurred royal displeasure, by omitting to supply their quota of two bricks for building the Sudaungbye Pagoda, and were executed at Kyawzin, six miles to the north of Mandalay. At the same place,

the King completed the construction of the pagoda, and after its consecration resumed his journey by boat. On the way down the Irrawaddy, the royal boat appeared to be held by the rudder by some occult influence, and its progress was stopped. The King consulted his ministers about the mystery, and they informed him that the two brothers, Shwepyingyi and Shwepyinnge, who were executed by royal command, had become *nats*, and that they resented that their valuable services should have been requited with death. It was only when King Anawrataza had directed a *nat* Temple to be built near his Pagoda, and ordered the people in the neighbourhood to make regular offerings to the *nats*, that he was enabled to resume his journey and arrive at his capital in safety.

Of the remaining *nats* in the pantheon, fourteen were royalties, twelve officials of State, either civil or military, most of whom had died violent deaths, one a female white elephant, and the last a dealer in pickled tea, who traded with the Shan and Palaung States to the north-east of Burma. All these may be termed "oracle spirits," because they are frequently consulted on private as well as public matters.

Sometimes *nats* were called into being, not by the King, but by the people themselves. At Thatôn, the ancient centre of Talaing civilisation in Lower Burma, there is a temple dedicated to a *nat* called P'o-p'o, grandfather. Tradition, which is, in this case, *prima facie* palpably false, says that, when this *nat* was a human being, he was charged by Sona and Uttara, the Buddhist missionaries, who visited Rāmaññadesa in the third century B.C., to safeguard Thatôn against the attacks of *Balus* or fierce monsters. The image of P'o-p'o represents an old man of about sixty years, sitting cross-legged, with a white fillet on the head, and a moustache and pointed beard. The forehead is broad and the face bears an intelligent expression. The upper portion of the body is nude, and the lower is dressed in a *cheik pao* or loin-cloth of the zigzag pattern, so much prized by the people of Burma. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left is in the act of counting the beads of a rosary. The height of the figure is about five feet. In the apartment on the left of P'op'o is an image representing a benign looking *mun* or governor in full official dress. Facing the second image in a separate apartment, is the representation of a wild, fierce-looking *bo* or military officer in uniform. The fourth apartment on the left of the *bo*, is dedicated to a female *nat*, who is presumably the wife of P'o-p'o, but there is no image representing her. These images are most probably

representations of a Burmese governor and his family, whose acts of justice, benevolence, and sympathy were long remembered by the people, and in whose honour these were erected as a mark of esteem, admiration, and reverence. The images are in a good state of preservation, as they are in the custody of a medium who gains a comfortable livelihood. An annual festival, which is largely attended, is held in their honour. It is a strange coincidence that, as in India and Ceylon, these shrines are held in veneration by various nationalities professing different creeds.

As a rule, the images of *nats* are uncouth objects, generally made of wood, with some semblance of human countenance. Those of the "thirty-seven rulers" are being carefully preserved within the precincts of the Shwezigôn Pagoda at Pagan.

Shamanism is, perhaps, the same all the world over, and possession by spirits one of the symptoms of hysterics or epilepsy. The following extract from Williams' "Fiji and the Fijians" (vol. I. p. 224) is, with slight modifications, applicable to the Shamanism as practised by the *natkadaus* or mediums of Burma :—

"Unbroken silence follows; the priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles, slight distortions are seen in his face and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances, this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, the veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of 'Koi au' koi au'—'It is I, it is I'—fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving an answer, the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman; the sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear. The priest looks round with a vacant stare, and as the god says 'I depart,' announces his actual departure by violently flinging himself down on the mat, or by suddenly striking the ground with his club. The convulsive movements do not entirely disappear for some time."

The fourth class of spirits, *genii* or dryads inhabiting objects of nature, are believed to be present everywhere. This is the reason why their presence is invoked in the administration of an oath or when contracting a solemn compact of friendship.

There remains to be dealt with the fifth class of spirits, who are doomed to continue their existence in a disembodied state, and whose interference in human affairs is supposed to be of a malignant nature. It may be premised that a sudden fright or fall is believed to be a condition favourable to their baneful influence. The majority of the unsophisticated Burmans, in common with the neighbouring wild tribes, say that most of the ills that flesh is heir to may be ascribed to the occult influence of disease-spirits or witches, and they would resort to exorcism as a method of cure rather than to diet or drugs. Witches are supposed to be capable of sending forth, on an evil errand, their souls or astral bodies, leaving their natural material bodies in a state of sleep, coma, or ecstasy. A certain kind of witches generally send off their detached heads in the shape of rolling balls of fire. The existence of witchcraft is recognised in the Burmese law-books, and instructions are given in them as to finding out witches, and as to the manner of punishing them.

The last division of Burmese spirits comprises various kinds of beings. *Tasè* is the generic term applied to all disembodied spirits, which existed as human beings. The *Hminza* are spirits of children, who assume the appearance of cats and dogs. The *Thayè* and *Thabet* are spirits of those, who died violent deaths, or of women who died in child-birth, or of those who lived wicked and sinful lives. These spirits are always inimical to mankind, and are represented in folklore stories as having hideous bodies, as big as those of a giant, and with long, huge slimy tongues, which they could make use of as an elephant would his trunk. They are blood-thirsty and their special delight is to cause the death of human beings. Female spirits, who are in charge of treasure buried in the earth, are called *Oktazaung*. All these spirits, with the exception of the last, are believed to roam about the haunts of men at sunset in search of their prey, and to be specially active in their peregrinations in time of an epidemic, such as cholera, small-pox or plague. They are, therefore, frightened off during epidemics by making a tremendous jarring noise by beating anything that might come in one's way, as the walls and doors of houses, tin kettles, metal trays, cymbals, etc. These evil spirits are sometimes said to enter the bodies of

alligators or tigers and to incite them to cause great destruction to human life.

BURMESE NECROMANCY.

NECROMANCY was one of the occult sciences of mediæval Europe and the basis of it was animism. The cult still prevails in Burma, and, according to the belief of its votaries, the world is peopled not only by living human beings but also by their spirits or souls in a disembodied state, endowed with passions and material appetites. The object of a Burmese necromancer is to acquire influence over these spirits and make them do his bidding. Spirits are of two kinds :—(1) of a higher order or *nats*, (2) of a lower order or *tasé*. Witches and wizards are supposed to be materialized spirits or beings who can project their astral bodies in space and regulate their movements.

Incantations play an important part in Burmese necromancy. They are composed in Sanskrit, Pali, Burmese, Talaing, and Shan, and sometimes in an unintelligible jargon consisting of a mixture of two or more of these languages. The mystic Sanskrit symbol *Om* is invariably placed at the beginning of each incantation. The selection below will give a fair idea of the absurdity of their meaning in the majority of cases, and of the slight connection between their sense and the purpose for which they are employed.

The following directions are given to procure immunity from gun-shot wounds. Utter *Om* while holding a leaf of a tree, say *ti* and pluck it off, and say *shè* and put it into the ear. The incantation "*Om ti shè*" is untranslatable.

In order to escape from enemies, famine, plague or other epidemics, repeat continually the following *mantrā*, get it inscribed on a palm leaf and suspend it in the door-way of your house : "Om ! Suvannabhūmi gantvāna mahiddhikā, piṣāce niddhamitvāna Brahmajālam adesayum." "Om! Having gone to Suvannabhūmi (Thatōn) and vanquished the powerful ogres, they preached the Brahmajālasutta." This relates to the advent of the Buddhist missionaries, Sona and Uttara, to Thatōn after the Third Council in the third century B. C.

There is a simple remedy for hydrophobia. Take forty-nine slices of *padaing-myi*t (dhatura root) and forty-nine seeds of black pepper and pound them into a paste. Face towards

the south at sunset and mutter the following three *mantra*—forty-nine times over the mixture, and then administer it to the patient :—

(2) Om ! Buddha, Buddha, bhinna, bhinna, sunakkha, thwāha.

Om ! Buddha, Buddha, broken, broken, dog, go.

(2) Om ! dōkpōn kyè law, tetkyè law, sunakkha, thwā ha.
Om ! Is the heap of sticks wide ? Is the upper portion wide ? Dog, go.

(3) Om ! paukseim tu law, kweyulaw, sunakkha, thwā ha.
Om ! Is digging done with an axe ? Is the dog mad ? Dog, go.

WITCHCRAFT.

Witches and wizards are beings, who can harm others by an occult influence, and can at will send out their spirits to possess their victims. Sometimes bewitched persons are cremated and pieces of hide or beef are found unconsumed by fire. When a person is suspected of having been bewitched, some food is placed in a bamboo platter and placed outside the house at nightfall. Dogs always come and eat it. If any grass is found in the platter in the morning, the interpretation is that the victim has incurred the displeasure of some witch or wizard ; but, if stones are found, the omen indicates that he will soon recover, and, if any earth is found, he will certainly die.

Witchcraft was recognized by Burmese law under the native *régime*. If a person was accused of having compassed the death of another by means of witchcraft, and if he confessed, the sentence of banishment was pronounced upon him. If the charge was denied, the accused person was treated in the following manner (those practising witchcraft were generally women) :—The suspected woman was dressed in white and her hair was done up in seven knots, through each of which a vulture's quill was struck. She was bound by her hands and feet, and a rope with seven knots was attached to her waist. Two boats were lashed alongside each other and matting made of *tashuwa* bamboo used in stirring the fire at a cremation) was laid on the sides of the boats, and the accused was made to sit on the matting. A palm-leaf scroll containing the following inscription was then tied round her neck. " I — have been charged with having bewitched — 's child. If the charge is true, may I float in the water. If it is false, may

"I sink." The boats were then moved into deep water, and arrows made of *tashuwa* were discharged in ten directions—the four cardinal points, the four intermediate points, skywards, and downwards into the water, from a bow made of the same material. Then, after a mixture of the filth from seven houses had been poured on the head of the accused, one of the attendants, took hold of the rope tied round her waist, and the two boats were separated, so that the woman was plunged in the water. If she was a witch, she would float; if not, she would sink. If the accusation was proved false, the complainant had to give Rs. 300 as compensation to the accused.

Witches are supposed to have charmed empty gourds or bladders in their stomachs; hence they would float if immersed in water.

REMEDY FOR WITCHCRAFT.

Bewitched persons are restored to health by *hmaw-saya*. These doctors attain their qualification by drinking water in which ashes of scrolls containing cabalistic squares and mystic figures have been mixed, by taking special internal medicine, or by having their bodies tattooed with figures of *nats*, squares, or incantations. The afflicted person is brought before a *hmaw-saya* and he commands the offending *nat*, witch, or spirit to enter and reveal its wishes through the medium of its victim. Sometimes a mere threat is sufficient to scare away the *nat*, witch, or spirit. Generally drastic measures have to be resorted to in order to exorcise it. Pungent substances are rubbed into the eyes of the patient; who is also beaten severely. Occasionally *hmawsayas* are not well qualified and they are worsted, and some of them even get killed. The ill-treatment meted out to the sick person is borne by the spirit, and the former, when cured, does not feel any after-effects of the rough usage.

At Prome, a few years ago, *nat* U Min Gyaw became enamoured of a respectable Burmese young lady. His spirit possessed her person and he declared his erotic intentions. The guardian of the girl did not approve of the proposed union, for the status or profession of a *nat-kadaw*, a *nat's* wife or medium, is not considered respectable, and he married her to a young Burman. The *nat* became enraged and the newly married husband sickened and died, and the guardian was obliged to celebrate the marriage between the widow and the *nat*. The lady thus became a *nat-kadaw* and her oracular

utterances were highly esteemed. Whenever she was possessed, she would drain off jars of toddy and four or five bottles of gin or brandy and would be quite sober when she regained consciousness. She would even smoke *ganja* in her cigars. After the expiry of about six months, the *nat* apparently got tired of his lady-love, and left her for "pastures new." She then lost the power of seeing into the past and future and, to hide her shame, she betook herself to Ma-ubin, where she died of cholera, perhaps with the approval or connivance of her celestial husband.

PYINSALET OR MAGIC.

The great object of this art is to cause hallucination in respect of the five kinds of sensation, and to confer temporary invulnerability. This is achieved by certain potent mixtures. The following is said to be a good recipe. Take equal parts of the livers of a human being, monkey, black dog, goat, cobra, and owl, and a whole lizard, and pound them together at midnight, the pounding to cease at dawn. The paste should be kept in a gold or silver box and is to be used as follows:— Rub a little on the left eye, and witches, *nats*, and ghosts can be seen. Rub a little on the right eye, and night will be turned into day. Rub a little on the chin, and a human being will be seen like a monkey. Rub a little on the forehead and sit down, and you will be invisible. Rub a little on the legs, and you will be swift of foot. Rub a little on the forefinger and point it at your enemy, and he will die. Rub a little on the hand and beat an iron safe with it, and it will open. Rub a little on a tamarind leaf, and it will be turned into a beetle. Rub a little on any inanimate movable object, and it will be endowed with life and follow you. Rub a little on gold, and it will be turned into lead. Mix it with the blood of your sweetheart, and she will follow you. Rub a bamboo with it and bury it on a road, and those who cross over it will be deprived of their clothes. A dead cock, when rubbed with it, will become re-animated and crow. If it is rubbed on a mat, the mat will stick to the sitter. Rub a little on a sword and cut yourself with it, and no wounds will be inflicted. Rub a little on a leaf blown about by the wind, and it will be turned into a tiger or elephant at will. Rub a little on a lotus flower, and it will be turned into a woman. Rub a little on a lotus bud, and it will be turned into a man.

PONNAKA OR DOING HARM THROUGH AN INVISIBLE AGENCY.

Pōnnaka is the name of a *nat* in the *Vidūrajātaka*, who took the wise minister *Vidūra* to the Queen of the *Nāgas*. The Queen had heard of the wisdom and virtue of *Vidūra* and was eager to hear him preach, and *Pōnnaka* was commissioned by her daughter to fetch him. He did so most effectually by tying him to the tail of his horse.

The *Pōnnaka nat* is capable of doing three things in an invisible manner :—

- (1) Throwing stones at a house.
- (2) Beating people with a stick.
- (3) Burning a house or village.

It is necessary at first to invoke the *nat* and this is done in the following way :—Make a wax image of an ogre on horse-back. The saddle should be made of the *paso* (loin-cloth) of a dead man, the bridle should be made of strings used in tying the thumbs and big toes of a dead man, and the tail should be made of the hair of a person who has hanged himself. Take the image to a big tree noted for the powers of its presiding *nat*, and, after propitiating him with suitable offerings offer this prayer : "O lord *nat* ! Vouchsafe to receive my *Pōnnaka*, and let him do my bidding." After this, bury the image under the tree. If a heap of stones is piled up near the tree, and if *Pōnnaka* is instructed to throw them at any house, a battery of stones will be directed against that house. If *Pōnnaka's* image is made of a special kind of wood, and if he is directed to assault any given person or persons, the required effect will be produced. The most disastrous consequences are reserved for the *Pōnnaka* with a firebrand. His image and a legend round it may be inscribed on a potsherd and, by intoning the legend, houses or villages will be burnt down by an invisible agency. The following is a translation of the incantation : "O fierce, strong, and powerful *Pōnnaka nat* ! I pray thee go quickly and burn down such and such a house, hamlet, village, or town."

CHARMS OF INVULNERABILITY.

Bawdithāda.

The great prototype of acquired invulnerability was an Indian King of mythic times, called *Porisāda* or man-eater, now corrupted by the Burmese into *Bawdithāda*. This King was extremely fond of beef, and one day, the supply running

short, his cook served up human flesh instead. He found the taste so excellent that he gave stringent orders that nothing but human flesh should be prepared for his table in future. The direct result of this command was that the country became perceptibly depopulated, and there was some popular effervescence.

Vox populi was *vox dei* even in those days, and the King had to pronounce upon himself the sentence of banishment. He was now free from any restraint imposed by law or public opinion, and his consumption of human flesh was excessive. Eventually, while hiding in a pond filled with lotus plants, he was captured by an embryo Buddha, and, through him, was reconverted into a sociable being, in love and peace with his fellow-creatures.

There are three representations of Bawdithāda :

- (i) Leaving his capital with a two-edged sword on his shoulder and holding a human head ;
- (ii) Crowned with a lotus-leaf while hiding himself in a pond ;
- (iii) Returning to the capital after his reconversion.

All or any of these figures may be tattooed in red above the waist. The vermilion dye must be mixed with human fat and a potent mixture called *thathana ngadaung se*, or the " mixture whose efficacy will last during the five thousand years allotted to the continuance of Buddhism," and it is absolutely imperative that the candidate shall hold a piece of human flesh between his teeth while he is being tattooed.

One who is properly tattooed with the figures of Bawdithāda is proof against wounds inflicted by sword, gun, or cudgel. He will beat the record in high and long jump, and his courage will be undaunted. He will be endowed with these qualities as soon as he has finished muttering the legends inscribed round the figures. But, if he feels inclined to jump and skip about without the help of those incantations, he has gone mad. The strain on the mind of being tattooed in the manner above mentioned is so great that most aspirants, fortunately for the public peace, become incurably mad.

The following is a translation of the incantations muttered by a fully qualified Bawdithāda :—

"I, Bawdithāda, who am qualifying to be the great robber chief Angulimālā, am now going fast ahead".

"May I, Bawdithâda, speedily succeed in capturing him (the embryo Buddha, King Sutasoma, who reconverted him)."

OTHER CHARMS OF INVULNERABILITY.

The whole bent of mind of the credulous section of the Burmese people appears to be directed towards discovering and inventing means for protecting themselves against physical violence. This effect can be secured by—

- (a) internal medicine ;
- (b) bathing in medicated water ;
- (c) carrying about on one's person metallic balls, etc.
- (d) tattooing on the person figures or cabalistic squares.

(a) *Internal Medicine.*

Take for fifteen days or a month a mixture of black pepper, ginger, and honey, over which certain incantations have been muttered, and the flesh will become hardened and be proof against sword-cuts. There is a subsidiary effect in that the person becomes impotent.

(b) *Bathing in Medicated Water.*

There is a plant growing in the Shan hills which has peculiar properties. Boil it in water and bathe in the decoction while it is boiling hot. The effect produced is very chilling—just like bathing in ice-cold water. Some persons, after such a bath, have to be literally roasted to be restored to warmth. If a man can go through such an ordeal, his flesh becomes very hard and he is proof against all wounds inflicted by sword or spear.

(c) *Carrying about on one's person metallic Balls etc.*

Balls of mercury, iron, or orpiment, as well as amulets, talismans, and the like, may either be buried in the flesh or carried about on one's person. In time of war, the favourite device is to inscribe charmed figures on one's turban. This ensures against all war risks. In this charm the placid and peaceful Buddha is incongruously placed as the central figure ; an army of *nats* followed by contingents of lions and dragons is led by a celestial ogre ; the dwellers in the sky are headed by the sun and the moon ; and lastly, as if to cast oil on troubled waters, a band of monks is requisitioned.

(d) *Tattooing on the person figures or cabalistic squares.*

Thieves and robbers have a particular predilection for a figure representing the king of tigers. When a person's legs are tattooed with this figure he becomes swift of foot and light of body.

A cabalistic square when tatooed on the right side of one's back, renders him invulnerable against gun-shots. The meaning of the Pāli legend inscribed within is as follows :—

"The attributes of the three Gems (Buddha, Law, and Assembly) transcend all others. By virtue of the truth of such an utterance, may peace and happiness cling to me for ever."

There are Burmese treatises dealing with alchemy and love-philtres, but they scarcely come within the domain of necromancy proper, and for all practical purposes may be left out of consideration.

CHAPTER VII.—RELIGION.

BRAHMOISM.

ON the evening of the 16th June 1883, the public of Rangoon were favoured with a lecture on "Brahmoism" or "Theism" by Babu Amrita Lal Bose, a missionary of the Brahmo Somaj Church in India; and I give below a short sketch of Brahmoism as I learnt from the lecture.

Babu Bose told us that Brahmoism is monotheism based upon science, and further on he prophesied that, being a natural religion, which satisfies the yearnings of the human soul, it will become the future religion, not only of the whole of India, but of the whole world. To confirm the statement that his faith has a scientific basis, he informed us about the explosion of the favourite theory of the deists of the 18th century alleging the independent working of the universe without the external aid or supervision of its great Maker.

As far as I can judge, I verily believe that Brahmoism is the outcome of the intermingling of Eastern and Western ideas. The system of Western education, or as Babu Bose described it—"that system which has brought the wine-glass and the beer bottle in its train" has tended greatly to call the truth of the ancient Hindu faith into question. Having received a mathematical and scientific training under European masters, the young Hindus of the present century are accustomed to trace statements through intermediate principles up to their logical sources, and when they are called upon to place their implicit faith in the doctrines of their ancestral religion, the 'how,' the 'why,' and the 'wherefore' of their early training are brought into requisition. Their mind's eye is, as it were, open, and being aided by commercial intercourse and rapid locomotion, they crave after a faith, which has some sure foundation, which possesses a somewhat complete ethical system, and lastly which acknowledges the existence of a Creator. The result of this religious agitation is, that a system has been made up possessing the complicated ethical system of Buddhism and the simple cosmogony of Christianity. Brahmoism, as Babu Bose told us, is Socinism also, inasmuch as it denies the divinity of Christ or the inspiration of Gotama Buddha and Mahomet. He said that never in this world had God, the

Creator, manifested His great 'I am' in any being, and consequently that all the founders of the principal religious systems of the world were simply human beings and no more they were not even the agents of God, and much less were they Gods themselves.

The aim of Brahmoism, we were told, is to attain the state of being God-like and that this end could be accomplished by totally abstaining from worldly pleasures; but Babu Bose did not say in what condition man is to attain such a blissful state, whether by his own *Karma* after repeated transmigration or by the interposition of his Merciful Creator. Further on, Babu Bose said that it was the bounden duty of every man to learn to know the true God, and that to do so, we should study comparative Theology. The infeasibility of such an advice cannot be doubted, as most people acting, under an animal instinct, first see whether their stomach is full, and then even, if they can afford time and money, do not care to trouble their heads about something outside this world.

Brahmosim is the religion of the educated classes in India. It supplies very well their spiritual wants, as it has borrowed the essence of Christianity, Brahmanism, Islamism, and Buddhism. It promulgates the universal love and charity taught by Christianity and Buddhism, and enjoins upon its votaries, after the Buddhistic and Brahmanic system, to suppress the desire of the flesh, to avoid taking life, and, in short, to renounce all kinds of worldly pleasure.

Brahmoism, as the name implies, is, we believe, a revival of the pure, simple Vedic faith, which was introduced into India by the early Hindu Aryan immigrants. The Vedic faith is pantheism, which personifies the principal powers of nature. The sun, the moon, the sky, and fire, which must have appeared mysterious, though beneficial to them, were adored under the names of Surya, Chandra, Indra, and Agni. It was during the 8th century after Christ, when Brahmanical influence was in the ascendant, that the Vedic belief in the personification of the powers of Nature and in 'Ekam eva advitiyam'—there is only one and no second—was superseded by the Puranic faith which recognized three principal deities,—*viz*: Brahma, the Creator, Siva, the Destroyer and Vishnu, the Preserver. Again, in the beginning of the present century, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a great Hindu reformer, appeared. Seeing that the faith of his countrymen had degraded from the simple Vedic to the idolatrous Puranic, he devoted the

greater part of his life to the study of the Bible, the Koran, and the Vedas, and tried his best to reform the prevailing religion.

The result of his efforts was the establishment of the Brahmo Somaj Church, which is now considered the orthodox one among a large number of the educated class in India.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BURMESE PAGODA.

BURMA is *par excellence* the land of pagodas, and, go where we will, we are confronted with Buddhist shrines of all shapes and sizes, some perched on almost inaccessible heights, while others nestle amidst the green foliage of tropical trees. They all occupy picturesque and romantic situations, and are the silent witnesses of the human conditions around them. The Burmese Buddhists, like other orientals, live more in the future than in the present, and the extraordinary number of pagodas all over the country attests to their anxiety to attain bliss in the next world as well as to the strong hold which Buddhism has over them. After all, the worship of humanity and the desire to increase its intelligence and to secure its health and comfort should be greater objects of solicitude than the building of innumerable edifices, however exquisite they may be in their architecture, and however awe-inspiring they may be in their splendour and magnificence. As it is, with the imposition of *Pax Britannica*, there is a greater sense of security of both life and property, and a less inclination to invest in "spiritual banks." It now remains for the leaders of the Burmese community, especially those who have received a Western education, to avail themselves of this tide in public opinion and to divert the wealth hitherto spent on the construction of temples and pagodas to more utilitarian and reproductive channels, as the extension of popular education and the maintenance of hospitals. In their efforts, they will be backed up by the teaching of the Buddha himself who said: "*Sabbadānam dhammadānam Jināti*"—Of all gifts, that of the *dhamma* (*i. e.* the training of human beings in intelligence and in the ways of righteousness) is the highest.

The word "pagoda" is a corruption, by metathesis, of the Sinhalese term "dagoba", which is again derived from "dhātu-gabbha" in Pāli, and "dhātu-garbha" in Sanskrit, meaning a "relic-chamber." The Burmese equivalent is "paya", "zedi,"

or "pato," the first and third being derived from Chinese, and the second from Sanskrit or Pāli. This hybrid derivation appears to indicate that the Northern form of Buddhism prevailing in China helped to mould, in a certain measure, the present type of Buddhism in Burma. Such a conclusion is more than corroborated by the architectural evidence afforded by some of the notable Burmese pagodas, especially in regard to the symbolism of their component parts. The symbolism is inexplicable to the Burmans of the present day, but the Chinese explain it as follows: "The base, four-sided, represents the abode of the four *Mahārājās*, the great guardian kings of the four quarters, whose figures are seen enthroned here within the open arches. The centre, octagonal, represents the *Tushita* heaven, with eight celestial gods, Indra, Agni, and the rest standing outside as protectors of the eight points of the compass; this is the paradise of the Bodhisats prior to their final decent to the human world as Buddhas, and Maitreya, the coming Buddha, dwells here. The upper storey circular in form, represents the highest heaven in which the Buddhas reside after attaining complete enlightenment; the figures in niches are the five celestial Buddhas, or *Jinas* seated on lotus pedestals." (Bushell's *Chinese Art*, volume I, page 62).

Let us now see how the Chinese explanation of the symbolism of the component parts of a pagoda fits in with the architectural type of a Burmese shrine. The latter rests on five receding terraces representing the five-fold division of Mount Meru, or on a triple basement representing the three worlds of Sense (*Kāmaloka*), form (*Rūpaloka*), and formlessness (*Arūpaloka*), the Buddha being "*tilokamahita*," or the "Revered of the three worlds." The form of the plinth or basement is always square, and symbolises the abode of the *Mahārājās* or *Catu-lokapālas*, the Guardian Spirits of the world. Then comes the "*shittaung*" or octagonal band encircling the building, which represents the *Tushita* (*Tōkthita*) heaven, the abode of all Bodhisats or Buddhas in embryo; but the eight gods, Indra, Agni, and others, each of whom protects a point of the compass, are absent. The next tier is a circular moulding, which the Burmans call "*Kyiwaing*" or circular band of copper, but which the Chinese say, represents the highest empyrean where Buddhas dwell after fulfilling their high mission on earth. Next succeeds the "*Kaunglaungbon*" or bell-shaped dome, in which are cut, in some of the ancient pagodas at Pagan, small niches facing the

cardinal points. In each niche sits enshrined the small figure of a Buddha in a preaching attitude. The figures represent Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Gotama. In China, Maitreya, or Metteyya, the Buddhist Messiah to come, is acknowledged and adored: but at the present time, he has no votaries in Burma. In the above identification, the point of great interest is the Chinese belief that the Buddhas live on after their *Parinirvāṇa*, which the Burmese Buddhists of the present day would repudiate as rank heresy.

So far, Chinese elements are manifest in the architecture of a Burmese pagoda, and it would be highly interesting to investigate the subject further by tracing the influence exerted by India and Ceylon on the religious architecture of Burma.

THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO BURMA.

"FROM Buddhist writings preserved at Ceylon and elsewhere there can be no doubt that the Talaings first obtained their knowledge of the Buddhist religion through the two missionaries as above described; and owing to their being on the sea-board, received it at a much earlier period than the Burmese. But as to when, and by what means, the Burmese first obtained their knowledge of it, no authentic record exists. Sir Arthur Phayre is of opinion that they were converted by Buddhist missionaries from Gangetic India, who reached Upper Burma through Bengal and Manipur. Others, amongst whom is Rhys Davids, supposed that Buddhism was introduced from China. It is not unlikely, however, that the Burmese obtained both their religion and their alphabet through the Talaings. The Burmese alphabet is almost the same as the Talaing, and the circular form of both strongly indicates the influence of the Singalese, or the Tamulic type of letter."—Fytche's *Burma Past and Present*, Vol. II, page 171.

The history of the Buddhist Church in Rāmañña or the country of the Talaings begins with the third Buddhist Council convened by Asoka in 309 B. C.* At the conclusion of this Council, missionaries were sent forth to various countries to propagate the Religion. Mahinda was despatched to Ceylon, and Sona and Uttara were sent to Suvannabhūmi,

* According to Burmese Chronology, the Buddha's Nirvāṇa took place in 544 B. C., and the Third Buddhist Council was held 235 years after that event, i.e. in 309 B. C.

which land both Talaing and Burmese writers agree in identifying with Thatôn, the Talaing kingdom conquered by Anawrata in 1057 A.D. An account of the despatch of these missionaries, and of the miraculous conversion of the countries visited by them is given in Chapter XII of the *Mahāvamsa*,* a history compiled in Ceylon by Mahānāma, a Buddhist Monk, in the fifth century A.D. Doubts have been expressed by European scholars as to the authenticity of this account, and there is an inclination to treat the whole tale as a monkish legend. In the inscriptions of Asoka, Ceylon is referred to only twice, and no mention is made either of Suvannabhūmi, or of the mission of Asoka's son Mahinda, or of his daughter Sanghamittā.† Nor have any inscriptions in the Asoka character been found at Thatôn or Pagan, whither it is supposed the Burmese conquerors removed their spoils of war.

As regards Suvannabhūmi, Yule ‡ and Subhūti § agree in identifying it with the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, while Alberuni, who wrote his work on India about 1030 A.D., mentions Suvannabhūmi as one of the countries situated to the north-east of India.¶ He also mentions that the Islands between China and India are the Islands of the Zabāj, called by the Hindus, Suvannadvīpa, "because you obtained much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country."¶

The conversion of a country to a foreign religion is necessarily the result of a long and continued intercourse, and of sustained and strenuous missionary effort; and the statement in the *Mahāvamsa* that, on the arrival of Sona and Uttara in Suvannabhūmi, 60,000 people suddenly embraced the new faith, that 2,500 men and 1,500 women were admitted into the Order,** may be summarily dismissed as beyond the range of credibility. Judging, however, by the splendid ruins of Cambodia, and the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions found there, it seems to be highly probable that that Kingdom was the chief radiating centre of Buddhism in Indo-China, and that the expansion of its power to Thatôn and Malaya was accompanied by the spread of Buddhist influences. Cambodian supremacy in the Salween valley lasted till the eleventh century; and Cambodian influences in the valleys of the

* Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, edited by Wijesinha, pages 46-49.

† Smith's *Asoka, Rulers of India Series*, pages 46, 115, 131, 132.

‡ Colquhoun's *Across Oryse*, Preface, pages vi and vii.

§ Vide S. V. Suvanno at page 492, Childers' *Pali Dictionary*.

¶ Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, page 303.

¶ *Ibid* Vol. I, page 216, Vol. II, page 106.

** Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, edited by Wijesinha, page 49.

Salween and Irrawaddy ceased with the foundation of the kingdom of Siam in 1350 A. D. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the religious traditions of the Cambodians, regarding especially the introduction of Buddhism, were inherited by the Siamese as well as the Talaings, by whom they were passed on to the Burmese.

At the same time, Burmese writers are not willing to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Talaings, whom they had conquered, for their knowledge of Buddhism. They say that Sunāparanta, the classic name of their country, should be identified with Aparantaka; that the Buddha himself visited Sunāparanta during his life-time, and there established his Religion; and that, at the end of the Third Council, missionaries were sent to Aparantaka to propagate the Faith. They add that, as early as 443 B. C., Buddhism was established at Prome as attested by the ancient Pagodas still in existence, and that, if they are at all beholden to the Talaings, the revival of the faith is certainly due to the Buddhist scriptures brought from Thatôn to Pagan in the 11th century A. D. The establishment of Buddhism at Prome in the 5th century B. C., cannot as yet be proved or disproved, because the ruins of that ancient capital have not been systematically explored; nor can Burma's claim to be identified with Aparantaka be admitted. Fergusson and Burgess in the *Cave Temples of India* (page 17), say that Aparantaka is the Konkan of the present day. "Aparantaka" means the "Western Country" and cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be identified with Burma, whose relative position towards India *prima facie* vitiates the identification.

If, before the foundation of Pagan in the second century A. D., Buddhism prevailed at Prome, it appears to have been of the Southern School, which was probably corrupted, later on, by the tenets of the Northern School as well as by Saivism and Vaishnavism. Burmese history relates that, on the accession of Thaiktaing, the 13th King of Pagan, who began his reign in 513 A. D., the Nāga-worship, with the Aris as its priests, arose at Pagan. It lasted for over five centuries, till it was finally suppressed by Anawrata. There is not much information available about the Aris or the system of faith taught by them. About the same period, *i.e.*, 6th century A. D., in Northern India, Buddhism had lost its vigour of expansion,* and Indian Buddhists had migrated to China and

* At page 437 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ninth edition, Vol. 4, Professor Rhys Davids says: "Buddhism began to decay soon after the commencement of the Christian

neighbouring countries. Buddhism itself had been corrupted by the Tantric system, which is a mixture of magic, witchcraft and Siva-worship; and this Tantric Buddhism apparently percolated into Burma through Bengal, Assam and Manipur, and allied itself with the Northern School prevailing at Pagan. Indeed, Wilson observes in the preface to his *Vishnu Purāṇa*: "It is a singular and as yet, uninvestigated, circumstance that Assam, or at least the north-east of Bengal (*i.e.*, Kamrup) seems to have been, in a great degree, the source from which the Tantrika and Sakta corruptions of the religion of the Vedas and Purāṇas proceeded." All that we know about these priests is that they called themselves 'Aris' or 'Ariya,'—the 'Noble'; that their robes were dyed with indigo, like those of the Lāmas of Tibet and China; that they wore their hair at least two inches long; that they were not strict observers of their vow of celibacy; that the *Jus primæ noctis* prevailed among them; and that the basis of their doctrines was that sin could be expiated by the recitation of certain hymns.

The immorality of the Aris finds a parallel among the Lāmas of Tibet and the Nairs of the Malabar Coast in Southern India. In Tibet, where the limited food-supply necessitates the practice of polyandry, Buddhist monks may beget children, and their sons are known as nephews. On the Malabar Coast, a communistic form of marriage prevails so far as the Brahmans are concerned; and a number of brothers may marry a single wife.

The priests of the Bhutias and Lepchas of the present day also appear to reflect the 'Aris' of Pagan in some degree, and the following is Dalton's account of them:—

"The Ghylongs, Lāmas or priests, form a very large proportion of the Bhutia population. Admission to the priesthood is obtained by permission of the Deb (King), on payment of a fee. In addition to the religious duties, the Lāmas are charged with the medical care of the people; but, as exorcism is the only system of treatment attempted, assurance in the practitioner, and faith in the patient, are all that is needed. The Lāmas have been estimated at 1,500 to 2,000. They live in monasteries, the chief of which is the headquart.

Era. In 400 A. D., when Fa Hian visited India, he found Buddhism still flourishing, though scarcely maintaining its ground. Hiouen T'sang, who visited India two centuries later, found Buddhism at a very low ebb. In the 8th and 9th centuries, a great persecution arose, and Buddhism was expelled from India." At page 438, *ibid*, he again says: "The Buddhism introduced into Tibet in the 7th and 8th centuries of our era was a form of the great vehicle, already much corrupted by Sivaism, a mixture of witchcraft and Hindu philosophy."

ers of the Government. In knowledge of the mysteries of the Buddhist religion, and in the literature of their country, they are very inferior to the Kampti Bapus or Phungis."*

"Dr. Campbell says, the Lepchas are Buddhists and have priests, some of their own tribe being educated at home; a few of the same race go for their education to the great monastic establishment beyond the snow; and some Tibetan priests. The latter two classes adhere to the monastic discipline, and are supposed to be devoted to celibacy. The country-born and country-educated priest is permitted to marry."†

"Dr. Latham tells us that the Lepcha is no Buddhist and that the priests, though they carry about the Buddhist prayer machines, wear Buddhist rosaries, and profess monkish mendicancy, are also the medicine men, the exorcists, and the directors of the feasts, ceremonies and sacrifices in honour of evil spirits; but notwithstanding all this, they may be just as good Buddhists as the Bhutias, who, whilst flirting with the mysteries of that religion, retain much of their original Paganism or Shamanism."‡

In India, the Tantric doctrine lapsed, in some cases, into a degrading system of impurity and licentiousness, as the form of worship required the use of some one of the five *Ma-kāras*, or words beginning with the letter *M' viz.*, : (1) *madya*, wine; (2) *mamsa*, flesh; (3) *matsya*, fish; (4) *mudra*, mystical gestures; (5) *maithuna*, sexual intercourse.§ Burmese records relate that, prior to the 11th century, offerings of wine and meat were made to images of the Buddha; and that it was only in 1555 A. D., that the Hanthawadi Sinbyuwin, the Branginoco of the early European writers, ordered the cessation of the practice of offering to the *nats* or deified spirits intoxicants and sacrifices of white buffaloes, white oxen, and white goats. That the Tantric doctrines became part and parcel of the prevailing system of faith in Burma is further

*Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, page 97. The large proportion of monks to the lay population in Buddhist countries has been noticed. "Thus in Tibet, where children are relatively few, it is believed that one out of every six or eight of the population is a priest. In Sikkim the proportion is one to ten. In Ladak one-sixth. In Bhotan one to about ten." (Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, page 171). "Under Burmese Rule, three per cent. of the population of Upper Burma, including the Cis-Salween Shan States, were *pōnyis* (monks); and in Mandalay itself there were 13,227 members of the Order or about eight per cent. of the total population." (Scott's *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, Part I, Vol. II, page 3.)

†Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, page 101.

‡Ibid, pages 101-102.

§Monier William's *Indian Wisdom*, page 523, footnote.

shewn by the fact that, even at the present day, *Nat*-worship is not wholly free from licentiousness.

The sacred language of Buddhism, whether of the Northern or Tantric school, was Sanskrit, and not Pāli. Inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been found at Pagan, whose palæographical development is clearly traceable to the Indo-Pāli alphabet of Kanishka (*vide* Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Plate XXVII). This Scythian king, who convened the Fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir in the first century of the Christian era, had the Tripitaka arranged in Sanskrit, and did for the Northern School what Asoka had done for the Southern. Further, terra-cotta tablets bearing Sanskrit legends have been found at Pagan and Tagaung; and Professors Fawsboll and Trenckner have noticed the marked preference shewn for the Sanskritic form of certain words in the Buddhist books of Burma. The most remarkable fact, however, is the existence in the Burmese language of words importing terms in religion, mythology, science and social life, which are derived directly from Sanskrit. In the domain of religion, the Burmese always employ partially Sanskrit forms like *Dhammacakra*, *Sāriputtarā*, *Krammā*, *Sakrā*, and *Samuddarā*, instead of the Pāli forms, *Dhammacakka*, the wheel of Law; *Sāriputta*, the right-hand disciple of Buddha; *Kamma*, the principle of Karma; *Sakka*, the Recording Angel of Buddhism; and *Samudda*, the ocean. This fact and the internal evidence afforded by the Inscriptions of Pagan appear to indicate:—

- (i) that the form of Buddhism first introduced into Burma proper was that of the Mahāyāna or Northern School;
- (ii) that the Buddhist Scriptures when first introduced were written in Sanskrit, which is the language of the Northern School;
- (iii) that the Southern school or Hīnayāna, the language of whose Scriptures is Pāli, subsequently absorbed and assimilated, by its stronger vitality, the Northern School, which, through intermingling with the Tantric doctrine of Assam and with the Bon religion* or Shamanism of Tibet, had fallen into corruption and decay.

* Jaschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, page 372, Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, pages, 19, 41, 55.

There are two words in the Burmese language, which, above all, seem to point to religious intercourse both with Tibet and Nipal. The Pāli word 'bhikkhu,' a monk, always appears in Burmese as 'pōngyi' or 'rahan'. Now the word 'pōngyi' is evidently connected with 'bonze', a priest of the Bon religion or Shamanism, which still prevails in Eastern and Southern Tibet, with which Burma must have had frequent intercourse in prehistoric times, and the Burmese word must be referred to the Tibetan compound made up of 'Bon', the Bon religion, and 'gyepa' to be great, 'pa' being an expletive suffix. Again, the word 'rahan' can only be referred to Arhana or 'Arhanta' under which designation monks are known in Nipal. These two words, 'pōngyi' and 'rahan' must have already been in the Burmese language before the word 'bhikkhu' was introduced together with the Pāli Tripitaka in the eleventh century A.D. Further, the Aris of Pagan appear to correspond to the Vajra Ācarya of Nipal. The latter may be a Bhikshu, Sravaka, Chailak or Sakyavamsika (Sakya-puttiya); he is bound for only ten days by the primitive rules of the Order, is then released from them, and marries though tonsured. Ostensibly he is a monk, but really he is a layman.†

At Pagan, the primitive system of faith was the Bon religion with its animistic worship and devil-dancing. The Burmese Pantheon of the 37 *Nats*, whose images are in the Shwezigōn Pagoda at Pagan, only dates from the reign of Thinligyaung (344-387 A.D.) The Bon religion was superseded by the Mahāyāna School with its Sanskrit Scriptures, which, in its turn, had to give way, in the sixth century A.D., to the Tantric system with its immoral professors, the Aris, and the form of Naga-worship. It was not till the 11th century A.D., that the Hīnayāna doctrine of the Southern School was introduced from Thatōn. Possibly, there was also an admixture of Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism. Vaishnava temples have been discovered at Pagan, and traces of the Siva cult have been found at Prome and in Arakan.

The stratification of these various systems of faith can only be elucidated by the exploration of ancient ruins in Assam and Manipur, the excavation of ancient sites in Burma, and a close study of the architecture, sculpture, and frescoes at Pagan. The frequent political upheavals and the exterminating wars between Burma and the adjacent countries have, in a great measure, obliterated the chief landmarks of religious

* Jaschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, page 209, (vide under the word *rgya-pa*.)

† *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, 183.

and ecclesiastical history, and no satisfactory account can be obtained from native records alone.

In studying the Burmese form of Buddhism, we have hitherto been accustomed to look only to India for prototypes and influences. The possible influence of China as a factor in the religious development of the Burmese has been overlooked. The Northern form of Buddhism, which was crystallized by the fourth Buddhist Council held under Kanishka, the Scythian King in Kashmir, was, together with its Scriptures in Sanskrit, introduced into China in 61 A.D., under the Emperor Ming Ti,* who reigned at Loyang in Honan. Ball says: "The first centuries of its arrival were marked by the translation into Chinese of numerous Buddhistic works; and there was considerable progress in making proselytes, for in the fourth century, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of China were Buddhists."†

Later on, Indian missionaries passed into China through Nipal and Tibet, and Chinese monks visited India and Ceylon by way of Central Asia and Afghanistan, with the object of studying Buddhism in the land of its birth and of making a collection of religious books for translation into Chinese. Buddhism was at the zenith of its power in China, in the tenth and twelfth centuries, not only being popular but also exerting great literary influence.‡

Burma received her Buddhist impulse, not from the adjacent province of Kuangtung, where Buddha is called 'Fat', nor from the maritime Province, where the Amoy dialect is spoken, in which the Sage is called 'Put', but from some Province, most probably, Yunnan, Ssuch'uan or Central China, where the Mandarin dialect was spoken, the evolution of this last dialect being ascribed to the period 300-900 A.D., when old Chinese intermingled with the languages of the Tartar tribes.§ In Mandarin, Buddha is called 'Fo-yeh', but the older pronunciation is 'Fu-ya' which, in Burmese, assumes the form 'Phu-ya,' now pronounced 'Pha-ya'. The Shan and Siamese form is 'Phra,' the Caimbodian form being 'Vra'. The earliest Burmese inscription, where the word 'Phu-ya' occurs, is dated about 1139 A.D., but according to Edkins, 'Fu-ya' came into use about 561 A.D.¶ In Burmese 'Pu-t'o' means

* Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, pages 87-88.

† Ball's *Things Chinese*, page 51.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 53.

§ Parker's *China, her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce*, pages 25-32.

¶ Edkin's *Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Character*, page 202.

an image of Buddha or a religious building commonly known as a Pagoda; and the corresponding Chinese word is 'Fu-t'u'.* A monastery is called a 'Vihāra' in Pali, and 'Kyaung' in Burmese, the form used in Tavoy being 'Klong'. In Mandarin, the corresponding word is 'Kung', the form used in Amoy being 'Kiong'. The leaves of the *Talipot* palm, on which the Buddhist Scriptures are written, are called 'Tālapatra' in Sanskrit, and 'Tāla-patta' in Pali; but the Burmese form is 'Pei' or 'Pei ywet' which corresponds to the Chinese word 'Pei' or 'Pei yeh'. The transformation of this word is thus explained:—"This Sanskrit word *Patra* became 'Pei-to-lo' in Chinese, and hence the Buddhist books were called 'Pei-to-lo Ching'. But the full transcription is not much used, and we find it shortened to 'To-lo' and even to 'Pei'. Then the history of the term was lost, and 'Pei-to-lo' and its abbreviation came to be regarded as the name of the tree, whose leaves were used for writing purposes. We find, accordingly, such expressions as 'Pei-yeh' that is, *patra* leaves used to designate the sacred books of the Buddhist."† A most interesting history is attached to 'Pu-ti-si,' the Burmese word for rosary, which is not, at all, mentioned in the whole range of Indian Buddhist literature, whether of the Northern or Southern School. Jaina works make mention of the rosary under the designation 'Ganettiyā' or 'Kaṇṇaniya'; and Brahmanical books under 'Mālā', 'Sutra', 'Akshamālā', 'Akshamālikā', 'Akshasutra', 'Rudrakshamālā', 'Carcakamālā' or 'Japamālā'.‡ It is thus evident that the Burmese term is not derived from any Indian word, but that it can only be referred to the Chinese word 'P'u-t'i-tzu'.§

It is extremely remarkable that terms intimately connected with Buddhism should have been borrowed by Burma from China and her translations from Sanskrit, rather than from Ceylon and her Pali literature; and this circumstance alone is convincing proof that the Burmese are indebted to the Chinese for a good portion of their knowledge of Buddhism.¶

Reference has been made above to the division of Buddhism into two great branches: the Northern and Southern Schools. China, Nipal, Bhutan, Tibet, Mongolia, Corea, Japan, and

* Watters' *Essays on the Chinese Language*, pages 387-388, 411-412.

† *Ibid*, pages 423-429.

‡ *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. II, pages 833-880.

§ Watters' *Essays on the Chinese Language*, page 377.

¶ For intercourse between Burma and China in the sixth century A.D., see pages 10-105 Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*.

Cochin China belong to the Northern, while Ceylon, Burma, and Siam belong to the Southern. There are several points of difference between the two Schools. Sanskrit is the sacred language of the Northern Buddhists, as Pali is of the Southern. In the Northern School, the doctrine of the "Western Paradise", where one may live for Æons in a state of absolute bliss, exempt from suffering, death, and sexual distinction, is superadded to that of Nirvāna or absorption into a passionless state. The Northern cosmogony is more extensive than the Southern, which is based on the Brahmanical system. The Northern Buddhists acknowledge the existence of a supreme Being, the Creator of the Universe, called Adi-Buddha; while in the Southern School, the central tenet is that man, without any extraneous aid from any Superior Being, is capable of attaining salvation, and that the Buddha is the highest type of humanity. The Southern School favoured the purely human and psychological ethics, while into the Northern was introduced animistic and transcendental views tinged with Tantric doctrines together with beliefs in the supernatural. The greatest distinction between the two systems is, however, that the Northern prides itself on its designation "Mahā Yāna" or the "Great Vehicle" because its ideal is Bodhisatship, which involves a series of re-births for Æons, and a desire to save all living creatures in the ages to come. The Southern is taunted as the "Hīna Yāna" or the "Lesser Vehicle," because its ideal is Arhatship, or the attainment of Nirvāna in this life by self-culture and self-control. When Hiuen Tsiang visited India in the 6th century A.D., two-thirds of the members of the Buddhist Order still adhered to the older doctrine of the Southern School; but the great Chinese Pilgrim regarded himself as a Mahāyānist, took away many books of the Great Vehicle back to China and became a founder of a long line of translators into Chinese. In the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Professor Rhys Davids objects to the use of the terms "Northern and Southern" Schools of Buddhism as inaccurate and misleading. He says:—"We have learnt that the division of Buddhism, originating with Burnouf, into Northern and Southern, is misleading. He found that the Buddhism in his Pali MSS. which came from Ceylon, differed from that in his Sanskrit MSS. which came from Nipal. Now that the works he used have been made accessible in printed editions, we find that wherever the existing MSS. came from, the original works themselves were all composed in the same stretch of country, that is, in the valley of the Ganges. The difference of the

opinions expressed in the MSS. is due, not to the place where they are found, but to the difference of time at which they were originally composed. Not one of the books mentioned above* is either Northern or Southern. They all claim, and rightly claim to belong, so far as their place of origin is concerned, to the *Majjhima Desa*, the Middle Country. It is undesirable to base the main division of our subject on an adventitious circumstance, and specially so, when the nomenclature thus introduced (it is not found in the books themselves), cuts right across the true line of division. The use of the terms Northern and Southern as applied, not to these existing MSS., but to the original books, or to the Buddhism they teach, not only does not help us, it is the source of serious misunderstanding. It inevitably leads careless writers to take for granted that we have, historically, two Buddhisms: one manufactured in Ceylon, the other in Nipal. Now this is admittedly wrong. What we have to consider is, Buddhism varying through slight degrees, as the centuries pass by in almost every book. We may call it one, or we may call it many. What is quite certain is that it is not two. And the most useful distinction to emphasise is, not the ambiguous and misleading geographical one—derived from the places where the modern copies of the MSS. are found; nor even though that would be better, the linguistic one—but the chronological one. The use, therefore, of the inaccurate and misleading terms Northern or Southern ought no longer to be followed in scholarly works on Buddhism."†

With all deference to the scholarly opinion of the learned Professor, I must say that the terms invented by Burnouf are not only convenient and based on the geographical distribution of Buddhism with essentially distinctive features, but have also attained a popular fixity. The terms may not imply that "we have, historically, two Buddhisms—one manufactured in Ceylon, the other in Nipal," but they do imply that we have two different kinds of Buddhism, one fostered by Asoka and the other by Kaniska. Burnouf, no doubt, first used the terms owing to the difference of the Buddhism as expounded in his Pāli manuscripts, which came from Ceylon, from that reflected in his Sanskrit manuscripts, which came from Nipal; but since his time, they have been extended to apply to the wider divergences of doctrine, belief, and usage. In his "*Chinese Buddhism*" (Page 100) Edkins rightly says: "The native

* i.e. the Publications of the Pāli Text Society.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol. 26, page 433.

annotator says that Tach'eng is the highest of three states of intelligence to which a disciple of Buddha can attain, and that the corresponding Sanskrit word, *Mahāyāna*, means 'Boundless revolution and unsurpassed knowledge.' It is here that the resemblance is most striking between the Buddhism of China and that of other countries, where it is professed in the north. These countries having the same additions to the creed of Shakya, the division of Buddhism by Burnouf into a Northern and Southern School has been rightly made. The superadded mythology and claim to magical powers of the Buddhists, who revere the Sanskrit as their sacred language, distinguish them from their co-religionists, who preserve their traditions in the Pāli tongue."

The introduction of the eras, now in use among the Burmans, constitutes one of the principal landmarks in the history of Buddhism in Burma; but native records are silent as to the reasons for their introduction. There are two eras in use, and are both of exotic origin: the Era of Religion or *Anno Buddhæ*, reckoned by the Burmans from 544 B.C., and the Vulgar Era or *Sakkarāj*. The earlier era used in Burma seems to have been the Era of Religion. It was abolished by Samundarī, King of Prome, in *Anno Buddhæ* 624, and a new Era was established in its own second year, thus wiping out 622 years of the Era of Religion. Hence the Era established by King Samundarī had the name of the *Dodorasa* era—the mnemonic words in Pāli for the figure 622—applied to it. The new Era is, in fact, the Saka Era of India, and is reckoned from 78 A.D. The introduction of this Era is thus explained by Alberuni: "The epoch era of Saka or *Sakakāla* falls 135 years later than that of *Vikramāditya*. The here-mentioned Saka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made *Aryavarta* in the midst of his realm his dwelling-place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Sakas. Some maintain that he was a Sudra from the city of *Almanansura*; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when *Vikramāditya* marched against him in the region of *Karur* between *Multan* and the castle of *Loni*. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers."

* Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, page 6.

In 638 A. D., a new era called the Khachapañca—the mnemonic words in Pāli for the figure 560—was introduced. It was inaugurated by Popa Saw Rahan, a usurper of Pagan, who had been Buddhist Archbishop and Preceptor of the Queen of his predecessor. The unfrocked monk was reputed for his learning, but no reasons are assigned, in the Burmese records, for his action. His name indicates that he was of Shan or Cambodian origin. There is, however, evidence to shew that the Burmese derived their Khachapañca era from the Chinese. Forbes in his '*Languages of Further India*,' (page 26), speaks of the "singular fact that all the nations of ultra-India, although deriving their religion, their civilization and their literature from India, have not adopted any of the Indian Eras, but have borrowed from China."

The Dodorasa or Saka era demonstrates that there was frequent intercourse between India and Prome in the first century after Christ, and that Indian influence was predominant in the Irrawaddy valley. As to the extension of the Chinese era of the T'ang dynasty to Burma it can be accounted for thus: The Annamese, who became subject to China as long ago as the year 221 B.C., passed it on to their neighbours, the Cambodians, whose empire extended in the early centuries of the Christian era, prior to their conquest by the Siamese (1351-1374 A.D.), as far as the shores of the Gulf of Martaban. Traces of Cambodian influence and civilization are still to be found in the painting, sculpture, and architecture of Burma. The Cambodians then passed it on to the Talaings and the Burmese. Or it is possible that the Burmese received it direct from the Chinese, their northern neighbours. But whatever the course of the migration of the era may have been, nearly two years elapsed before its adoption, and its computation began with the second year of the new reckoning.

The introduction of the Chinese calendar was apparently effected during the reign of T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, who ruled from 627-650 A.D. During this reign, flourished the great pilgrim and traveller, Hiuen Tsang. In the introduction to Hiuen Tsang's *Travels*, the Emperor is thus described in Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, page 9:—

"With respect to the Emperor, who transcends the five and surpasses the three, we read how all creatures enjoy his benefit and all who can declare it utter his praises. From the royal city throughout the (five) Indies, men who inhabit the savage

wilds, those whose customs are diverse from ours, through the most remote lands *all have received the royal calendar*, all have accepted the imperial instructions; alike they praise his war-like merit and sing of his exalted virtues and his true grace of utterance." The modern royal calendar is a work containing useful information about the seasons, etc. It is annually issued by the Astronomical Board at Peking, and is distributed throughout the Chinese Empire and its dependencies.

In this sketch of Buddhism we must not omit a reference to Buddhaghosa, the great scholar and divine, who was the reputed apostle of Buddhism to Burma. Talaing historians claim him to be their fellow-countryman and state that he crossed over to Ceylon in 402 A. D., and thence brought back to Thatôn a complete set of the Tripitaka together with its commentaries. This claim is vitiated by the Mahāvamsa and other Sinhalese records, which say that he visited Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma (412-434 A. D.) and that he returned, not to Thatôn, but to 'Jambudipā, to worship at the Bo-tree at Uruvela in Magadha.* Further, the Kalyāni Inscription erected by Dhammaceti, King of Pegu, in 1476 A. D., is absolutely silent regarding the celebrated Buddhist divine. If the story about Buddhaghosa's advent to Thatôn be historically true, the event would have been considered to be an important epoch and would certainly have been mentioned in this inscription, which gives a *résumé* of the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, and which was erected by a king, who was called from the cloister to the throne, and to whom every kind of information was accessible. Considering that the identification with the Suvannabhūmi of the ancients has been urged in favour of three countries, namely, Rāmañadesa, the Malay Peninsula, and Cambodia, in all of which gold is found, one cannot help being sceptical as to the historical accuracy of the account relating to the mission of Buddhaghosa to Thatôn. Such scepticism becomes somewhat confirmed, when it is borne in mind that there is no palæographical affinity between the Talaing and Sinhalese alphabets and that Cambodian writers affirm that the great divine came to *their* country † In this connexion, the conclusions of Mr. Foulkes in his careful researches into the legends of Buddhaghosa are extremely interesting.‡

* Compare with the account given at pages 2-927, Copleston's *Buddhism*.

† Bowring's *Kingdom and People of Siam*, Vol. I, page 36.

‡ *Indian Antiquary* for April 1890.

A history of Buddhism in Burma still remains to be written. The influences exerted by China, Tibet, Nipal, Magadha, Assam, Manipur and Cambodia on the one hand, have to be distinguished from those exerted by Southern India and Ceylon on the other. The intermixture of the Bon religion with the Tantric doctrine and Nāga-worship, the evolution of Shamanism or *Nat*-worship and the part played by Brahmanism, Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism in the religious development of Burma have still to be described. Above all, the Talaing literature, which forms the connecting link between Southern India and Burma proper still remains to be explored.

BUDDHIST TRANSMIGRATION.

Life ! I know not what thou art,
 But know that thou and I must part ;
 And when, or how, or where we meet
 I own to me's a secret yet.

A. L. Darboild.

IN the sixth century before Christ, two mighty men were born, who were destined to bring about world-renowned reforms in the social organization of their respective countries. They were **Pythagoras** and **Gotama Buddha**. **Pythagoras**, the Grecian philosopher, having arrogated to himself a super-human nature, began his mission by promulgating his theories of the immortality of the soul, the connection of metempsychosis with moral retribution, and inculcating asceticism, strict self-control, and earnest culture. And what did the great **Buddha** teach ? A similar doctrine. He said that this world is a den of sorrow, old age, sickness, and death, and that, until the human soul reaches the blissful haven of *Nirvāna*, it shall have to hover about the boundless ocean of *samsāra* (transmigration). He further enjoined upon his disciples to tear themselves away from this world of passion, jealousy, and hatred, and to prefer the haunts of the tiger and hyæna to human abode, and there to pass their life in directing the whole weight of their mind in trying to free themselves from this ensnaring world.

Pythagoreanism, however, differs from Buddhism in dealing with the political, social, as well as the religious affairs of the people; and its premature decline seems to have been hastened by the Pythagoreans trying to exclude the democratic

element from the Government, and to reserve for themselves the right of ruling the vulgar masses. On the other hand, Buddhism seems to aim more at the elevation of the social status of the people than satisfying their spiritual needs. Before **Gotama's** birth, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the Brahman reigned supreme. He was soothsayer, priest, legislator, and Royal counsellor, and his exorbitant privileges circumscribed the royal prerogative within very narrow bounds. Moreover, no religious ceremony could be performed without his assistance, nor any important step undertaken by the State without his advice. Next to the King he was the most august and supreme, and his high authority was keenly felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. But when the Buddha appeared, the iron bond of caste was rent asunder, and Brahman and Sudra were equally welcome to hear his sermons or enter his priesthood.

All of us appear to have a faint idea that a certain region exists beyond the grave, but we are not at all certain as to its whereabouts, its extent, its government, and such other particulars. All that we are quite sure of is, that every individual born into this world must needs die, or, as Buddhists would say, "Yam kiñci samudayadhammam sabbantam nirodhadhammam"—"anything that has existence must also have its cessation." Philosophers, both ancient and modern, have started theories which are compatible with their own convictions and have laboured hard to make other people believe that what they expound is axiomatically sure. The greatest stumbling-block, which hinders their spiritual mission, seems to have been the finding out of the true nature of that abstract essence, which we call a 'soul.' **Socrates, Pythagoras, and Plato**, each in his turn, promulgated the theory of the immortality of the soul and its consequent state of metempsychosis; while **Gotama Buddha**, inspired, perhaps, by similar motives and circumstances, devised a new religion, which, in its tenets, greatly resembles Grecian and Hindu philosophy. The theory of *samsāra* or transmigration bears a strikingly strong resemblance to the Pythagorean theory of metempsychosis. In both we find that every deed of ours is supposed to entail a moral retribution, and consequently that the condition in which a creature is born in this world is exclusively determined by his all-powerful *deed*. Both point out a state which is free from mundane vicissitudes, mundane miseries and sorrows, and both teach that such a blissful state can be attained by any one by means of his own individual exertion and self-purification.

Buddhism begins by teaching that every living creature is nothing but an aggregate of form, sensation, perception, discrimination, and consciousness, and that the formation of such an aggregate is determined by *Karam* or deed-result. Thus, in this present existence, I commit certain deeds which may be either good or evil; and when I die, the above-mentioned constituent parts which compose my body will get destroyed; but immortal *Karma* remains and will form the germ of a new 'I.' The **Buddha** says: "a lamp is lighted from another; the lamps differ; the second only receives light from the first, so is it also in regard to souls."

The Buddhists in Burma compare *samsāro* to a vast shoreless ocean on the waters of which float countless myriads of creatures. They say that the feeders of this ocean are four poisonous rivers, *viz*:—that of birth, age, disease, and death; that this vast ocean of existence and misery, is turned into a seething cauldron by the raging of the storm of fierce passions; and that nothing in this world but the practice of the ten *Pāramitas*—Charity, Observance of the Precepts, Forbearance, Truthfulness, Love, Wisdom, Energy, Self-abnegation, Resolution, and Indifference—can save an individual from the misery of being carried round and round by the strong current of the whirlpool of existence. It may be asked whether this *samsāro* has either a beginning or an end, and Buddhists would reply that it has an end in Nibban, (*Nirvāna*), but no beginning. They would say that, as a seed generates a tree, or an egg a bird, so does *Karma* determine this *samsāro* or chain of existence; furthermore, they would say that the **Buddha** forbids them to carry their mind so far back into the past.

Buddhism admits into its benign fold not only men but irrational animals also; hence we find the protection for the life of lower animals claimed in the first precept of the Buddhist decalogue—"thou shalt not take the life of any creature." The **Buddha** has pointed out with examples that a worm crushed under foot may, by its good *Karma*, become a radiant angel surrounded by a thousand *devas*, or that the powerful *Mahābrahma*, on the expiration of the term of bliss allotted to him by his deed-result, may be doomed to the state of a worm. The Burmese have a very expressive saying that we in this world are "*Tamin haung sa thi*"—"eating old rice"—meaning thereby that our present enjoyment is nothing but the result of our former deeds; and they tell us that our present life being probationary, we should store up our "*Tamin thi*"—

"new rice"—by living by the Ten Precepts, and by observing the laws of the **Buddha**.

The other day, I was discussing with a native scholar about the nature and meaning of the theory of *samsāro*. In the course of his argument, he told me that however greatly the Buddhist precept, "thou shalt not take the life of any creature" might appear at first sight to be at variance with the Christian commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder", Buddhism and Christianity may be made to merge into each other, when we come to consider that the greatness of a sin is proportional to the amount of mental energy we put forth in committing it, and that in killing a fellow-creature, we are bound to strain our mental energy to its utmost in devising means for his destruction. My fellow-debater further told me that *samsāro* might, with advantage, be proved by ocular demonstration, and related to me the following: "Some years ago, a man died, and about 10 years afterwards, he appeared in a dream to one of his married cousins and entreated her to let him stay with her. That night the cousin conceived; and in due course, gave birth to a son. When this son was about three or four years old, his mother chanced to pay a visit to her sister-in-law. On seeing this latter lady, the boy went up to her crying and calling her his wife and by pet names which her deceased husband had been known to use. He seemed to know all the inmates of the house, and asked them how they were getting on, and whether their wealth had increased since his departure beyond the grave." My fellow-debater said that so fine and exact were the recollections of this boy that he knew all the ins and outs of his former residence, adding that in the face of such strong evidence, we could not but conclude that this was surely one of the instances of transmigration.

Let us now pause to see in what acceptation the term *samsāro* is taken among the Burmese. We regret to record that, like *Karma*, it is not properly understood. It is true that they take it to mean 'repeated births,' but it is equally true also that they act according to the maxim, "to be penny wise and pound foolish," with regard to their belief in it. They, indeed, have a great respect for animal life in general, and are very loath to crush an insect or a vermin, but when stung by jealousy, hatred, malice, or rivalry in love-making, then their impulsive Burman nature seems to appear in bold relief. For, under such circumstances, it is generally the case that they most coolly waylay their unlucky victim and do not evince the slightest compunction in killing him with a *da* or crowbar.

BUDDHIST FATALISM.

Our riches may be taken away by misfortune, our reputation by malice, our spirits by calamity, our health by disease, our friends by death; but our actions must follow us beyond the grave.—Colton.

NATURE seems to have planted in man a faculty of distinguishing good from evil, and we believe that the right working of this faculty, which we call conscience, depends not so much on our moral training as on the society around us, which is called environment. Murder and robbery, which are universally denounced by the civilized world, are looked upon by the free-booting Thugs of Central India as a sure means of gaining the favour of their strange gods, while a Buddhist or Parsi would say that it is against his religion to take the life of any creature. The principle of good and evil seems to have been promulgated among men since the dawn of history. Ancient history tells us that a Persian reformer, called Zoroaster, taught his disciples that the admixture of good and evil in this world was due to the struggling for supremacy of Ormuzd and Ahriman—the personified principles of good and evil—and that the former would in the end prevail over the latter. The ancient Egyptians, too, believed in the workings of a similar principle, and they were taught by their priests to exercise great care and discretion in whatever they did. The Buddhist theory of *kan*, however, widely differs from all other theories in boldly asserting that the status of every being is determined by its own actions. Thus we find that, in Buddhism, *kan* is turned into a creating principle and forestalled in the place of a mighty creator, and that, when a Buddhist prays, he always begins his prayer with "Iminā puññakammena"—"by the virtue of this my good deed." The Buddha said: "Na sakkā koci kammavipākam nivāretam"—"no one can ward off the fruits of *kan* or action," and he further explained his theory in the well-known opening lines of the Dhammapada: "Our faculties have their origin in mind, are governed by the mind, and formed by the mind: if one speaks or acts with an evil intention, trouble, in consequence, follows him, as the wheel the foot of the drawer (*i.e.* the ox which draws the cart).

"Our faculties . . . if one speaks or acts with a pure intention, happiness, in consequence, follows him as a never-departing shadow."^{*}

^{*} Gray's *Dhammapada*, p. 1.

To harmonize this theory of *kan* with the spiritual yearnings of some sceptics, a provision has been made by appointing Sakko—the Indra of the Hindus—the Recording Angel of Buddhism. The Buddhists say that a kind of debtor's and creditor's account is kept by this Sakko or *Thaggyamin* who, four times a month, seated in his Hall of Justice, reads aloud, from a golden book, a record of good done by mortals during the week.

In studying the doctrines of Buddhism, an inquisitive man might say that the theory of *kan* presupposes repeated pre-existences and that the human mind is capable of conceiving that there is a possible beginning to the chain of such existences. He might also say that these possibilities almost amount to a certainty and would pertinently ask: "who is that great Being who made men before they had committed any *kan*?" Such a question, we are told, had been actually put to Gotama Buddha himself after he had attained Buddhahood, and he gave the following answer:

"Anamataggāyam bhikkhave samsāro pubbakoti na paññāyati". "Priests, the origin of this samsāro (transmigration), which has countless existences, is unknown."

Buddhism is verily an offshoot of Brahmanism. Many instances may be given to show how the speculative philosophy and the mythology of the Hindus have been engrafted on Buddhism. We find such terms as *rishi*, *Indra*, *Mahābrahma* and *Sayambhū* happily transformed into new beings with Buddhistic attributes. We also find that, in Buddhism, metaphysics has been pressed into the service of the religion. Every action done is measured not only by the result alone, but also by the amount of mental exertion put forth. We have been told, by a learned Buddhist, that greater sin will be entailed on an ignorant man than on a knowing man, although the action may be the same, and the reason he gives for making such an assertion is, that, in the case of the ignorant man, he, on account of his very ignorance, puts forth the same amount of mental energy in committing sin as in doing good, while the knowing man, being aware of the nature of the deed he is going to do, and having a lurking consciousness of the results of sin, does a bad deed with a failing heart, if not with a failing hand. Such are the arguments used to prove the above theory; and, judging the results produced in the next world by the standard of the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, we cannot help thinking that such a theory apparently requires a fuller consideration.

The Buddha seems to have thoroughly succeeded in instilling the doctrine of *kan* into his followers; and to prove this statement, we shall only have to observe the effect produced on the Burmese character by the literature of the Jātakās or the anterior births of the Buddha. In short, we may say that the very life of the Burman is tinged with the doctrines of Buddhism, and especially with the theory of *kan*. Every good or bad event that befalls a man is believed to be the result of *deed*, and should, therefore, be borne up cheerfully, happily, and with resignation. The Buddhists say that the eight conditions of existence, *viz* :—Loss and gain, honour and dishonour, praise and blame, and lastly, happiness and misery, are the inevitable fruits of our former deeds, and that it is the duty of every man to reconcile himself to the circumstances in which his *kan* has placed him. We believe that such a resignation, based upon some mysterious and inevitable cause, is commendable only in so far as it produces a salutary effect on our mind and character, and that it is very far from good when we make this *kan* the cloak of our indolence and inactivity. Now-a-days there exists a strong tendency among the Burmese to attribute any imaginable thing to the working of *kan*. We have had some heated discussions on the subject with a learned friend of ours, and found that he inclines to our deep-rooted opinion that we should rather rely on our *Wiriya* (energy) and *nyan* (intellect), than on our *kan* (merit). These three terms, we must premise, have a strange correspondence with the three similar terms used in England, *viz* :—rank, wealth, and influence. The Burmese believe that their *Kan*, *nyan*, and *Wiriya*, or rather *Wiriya*, *nyan*, and *Kan*—as we should say—form the go-cart of a man's status in this world.

Writing about the Buddhist theory of Fatalism, we think it would not be out of place here, if we were to touch on its connection with Buddhist marriages in Burma. Among Christians, marriage is regarded as a holy institution, specially ordained by God; whereas in Burma, we find that it is looked upon by the people at large as not so much an institution as a 'civil contract'. The matrimonial tie among the Burmese can be dissolved at any time or at the instance of any party, although there may be no reasonable fault at all to justify a separation or divorce. It has been noticed that, in oriental countries, astrologers play an important part in the social organization; and to no other eastern country may this remark be applied with equal force and truth than to China and Burma. In these countries, the existence or non-existence of *kan* is

believed to be indicated by the brightness or gloominess of certain stars; and consequently all matters political, commercial, and social, from the carrying on of a war down to the requirements of a marriage, such as its form of celebration and the person to be married to, are, with great deference, submitted to the decision of astrologers. Even after the marriage has been celebrated, the husband or the wife can separate from each other if he or she, on consulting an astrologer, finds that the stars, under which they were born, forebode some disastrous event; and in nine cases out of ten, the astrologer's injunction is followed with child-like subserviency. Or, after its celebration, the marriage may prove unhappy, or the property of the couple may decrease. It is highly probable then that either party will apply to a court for divorce, alleging in the petition that the cause of such application is "*kan* ma sat thawgyaung"—"their destiny does not agree"—and the native judge, before whom such a case is brought, will invariably give a decree in favour of the applicant, who always gets half the conjugal property.

In conclusion, we should say something about the modern acceptance of the word *kan* among the Burmese. Instead of using the word in the sense of "the principle which determines both the present and the future state of a man," its sense has been perverted so as to make it equivalent to such phrases as "good luck," "happy condition," "happy combination of external circumstances," and the like. In our opinion, however, we do not think that the great Buddha, when he preached his law of salvation, was aware that, about 2,000 years after his *Parinirvāṇa* his theory of *karma* or *kan* would be degraded to mean any imaginable thing of which we cannot give any cause, and be used as a cloak for hiding extravagance, indolence and vice.

THE CHINESE DEVIL FEAST:

ITS ORIGIN.

THE seventh month in the Chinese Calendar is set apart specially for the celebration of the Devil feast. It is very likely that the origin of this feast may be traced to the current belief among the Chinese, that the soul of a dead man is everlasting, and that it presides over the destiny of his living relations with whose joys, pleasures, and sorrows it shares. This popular belief is somewhat strengthened by the teachings of Confucianism and Taoism, by which the Buddhist doctrine "Honour

and succour thy father and mother " is extended to " not only when they are living, but also when they are dead." Hence we find that it is the bounden duty of every Chinese to make yearly offerings to his dear departed. In China the relations of a son to his parents are minutely defined in the national Codes, and the punishment for the omission of any of the filial duties is entrusted to the Government ; and we know on good authority that the severest penalty is inflicted upon those who disobey their parents.

Many interesting stories are told as to how those who honour and succour their parents are rewarded by some unseen hand. The following story will, perhaps, not be out of place here :—During the reign of the Hsia dynasty a severe famine was followed by a virulent pestilence. During these hard times, there lived an honest and hard-working man who had to support his mother, his wife, and an infant. Food was so scarce that the old woman had to be supported with the nourishment intended for the babe. One day, the husband foreseeing that the natural supply would soon get exhausted, owing to the extremely small quantity of food taken by his wife, and also wishing to sustain his mother as long as his wife's nourishment lasted, asked her whether it would not be advisable to get rid of their infant and thus save his mother. The most salient point in his reasoning with his wife was, that they could get another child, but not another parent. The poor couple at last came to the conclusion that they should go to a neighbouring forest and bury their child. They accordingly repaired to the appointed spot and began to dig a hole, when lo ! a large lump of solid gold presented itself to their view. Confucius and his successors having taught that the chief end of man is to serve his parents while alive, and to offer sacrifices to their *manes* when they are dead, no better way could have been devised to propitiate the Chinese Rhadamantus and rescue the departed ones from Purgatory and the evil influences of unseen evil spirits than by liberal offerings in the style one may notice in a Chinese temple during the Devil feast. Everything points to the conclusion that the feast, in the form in which it is observed, is the outcome of ancestral worship. It is only by attention paid to the departed that relatives can hope to become disembodied spirits in the Blissful Regions, to be able, in their turn, to guard the interest of their progeny on earth.

THE THADINGYUT FESTIVAL.

THE *Thadingyut* festival is generally held about the middle of October every year. The word *Thadingyut* signifies "freedom from fasting and penance," and thus the festival seems to be religious in its origin. We read in the Buddhist scriptures that, when Gotama Buddha was promulgating his laws of salvation to the people at large, he enjoined upon his priestly disciples to sojourn to some secluded spot, away from the uproarious haunts of men, and pass the long days of the rainy season in meditation and other religious observances. It appears that, after this term of temporary seclusion had expired, the devout mendicants were allowed to return to their own monasteries and resume their former mode of living. It was, perhaps, to congratulate and do homage to these priests, that the people repaired to them with offerings of flowers, vestments, medicine, and *catumadhu*—four kinds of sweets, *viz.*, honey, oil, molasses, and butter. In modern times, there seems to be a tendency among the *Thingas*—priesthood—to put a somewhat different interpretation on the simple teachings of Gotama, and thus we find that the old practice of temporary seclusion is now taken to mean not to a forest, but to noisy towns. In Upper Burma under the late *régime*, no religious differences could exist, as all matters connected with the Buddhist Church were investigated, decided, and settled by an ecclesiastical Council specially appointed by His Majesty the King of Burma. In Lower Burma, however, where the British Government has been pursuing the policy of non-intervention with regard to the national religion, we find that there is a general laxity in the religious observances of the priests. To us it seems rather strange that some of the holy brethren here should please the profane vulgar at the expense of their seclusion, holiness, and sanctity. On the full-moon day of *Thadingyut*, the *Thayettaw Kyaungdaik*, the cluster of monasteries that nestle in the mango-grove near the Rangoon Jail, presents a lively appearance. There are dancing parties, bands of musicians, blazing torches moving about, bright lamps both of native and European manufacture, fire-works, and balloons. In short, we find that this simple homage-paying ceremony has now been degraded to a riotous saturnalia. An orthodox Buddhist from Mandalay or other up-country town will certainly be shocked when he hears that the sanctity and seclusion of *Kyaungs* here are invaded, and finds the priests themselves listening to music and letting their eyes look yebond the prescribed distance of four cubits. But truce with

moralizing! One, who cannot act like the Romans when he is in Rome, is not now-a-days reckoned a philosopher; and, therefore, I do not think that I am justified in lifting up my voice against the prevailing custom.

If we look at the festival from the point of view of an Adam Smith, we shall come to find that enormous sums of money are wasted every year. Before the festival commences, apparently pious young men and women dressed in their best *pasas* and *tameins* who are called *nibbanzaws*—the wakers of people longing for *Nirvana*—may be seen going from house to house and distributing little rolls of paper on which are written the names of the particular kinds of offerings the recipients should contribute to the *ahlu* or festival. The *Kyaungtagas* and *Zayattagas* are supposed to fit out their respective charity-houses and provide sweet-meats and drinks for the entertainment of those who choose to come to the feast. A foreigner may ask whether such valuable offerings are of any use to the charitable donors or to the priests, or whether such offerings are eaten by the people as is the case with the Chinese. If he be a utilitarian, he will be quite disappointed when he is told that they are taken away the next morning by the Pagoda slaves, through whom these nice eatables generally return to the stalls, where they were first bought.

Apart from these philosophical speculations, I would here observe that, in Upper Burma, the festival still retains something of its pristine simplicity. There, on the full-moon day, every inferior is supposed to make some offerings and *Kadaw* or do homage to his superior. The Royal Palace on that day is generally thronged with *wuns* and umbrella-bearing Chiefs of the wild Kachins, Palaungs, and Shans. And at night-fall, every one brings his quota of little oil lamps to light the streets. Shway Yoe says that the city on such a night, if seen from the Mandalay hill, will form an impressive contrast to its hitherto gloomy appearance. Moreover, the people, perhaps, not content with wasting oil on land, generally make fire-rafts and float them down the river in honour of Shin Upagók, the *Rahanda* who, they say, is doomed to live under the sea for hiding the clothes of his fellow-bathers in his previous existence.

The *Wingaba* or *Labyrinth* festival is essentially a rural one, and is not now in vogue in Rangoon. The proper time for its observance is in November, in connection with the *Tawadeintha Feast*; but, for some reason not satisfactorily explained, it is,

in some parts of the country, incorporated with the Thadingyut festival.

A VISIT TO THE KYAUNGS ON THE DAY OF THE THADINGYUT FESTIVAL.

THE clock had just struck seven, and our party was ready to start. Just at this juncture, a question cropped up as to whether we should first go to Bahan, which is situated to the north-east of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, or to the Thayettaw Kyaung Daik near the Jail. We were at a nonplus. Some argued that the latter place on account of its being overcrowded should be first honoured with our presence, while some voted otherwise. Fortunately for us, ready feminine wit was brought into requisition. The lady of the house, where we assembled that night, suggested that Bahan should be visited first, as it was a much quieter and better place, and that the riotous, overcrowded Thayettaw should be visited late in the night. Accordingly we took her kind advice, and one of our party sent for a gharry. We had a pleasant drive through the town with the bracing cool breeze blowing against our faces. We soon left the uproarious town behind us and found ourselves wending our way towards the Pagoda. The night was very pleasant and delightful. The scenery around us, with the 14th waxing moon flooding her silvery rays, would, I think, have inspired a Thomson or Wordsworth with soft poetic musings; and the moon-lit sombre hue of the surrounding trees strangely contrasted with the small flickering lights which presented themselves to our view. The great Pagoda, the scene of many strange vicissitudes, seemed to proudly rear up its majestic head and composedly look down upon its votaries walking below. I was buried in soft musings, when 'Ho' was suddenly called, and it was only then I knew that we had arrived at our destination. We went up to the *sayat* and found that our kind hostess had laid out a dinner for us in anticipation of our coming thither. She asked us to dine, but we, with many thanks, declined her invitation. She remonstrated again and again, but in vain. We told her that we must respect nature even at the cost of breaking the rules of etiquette; besides, we had just had our dinner at home. On finding that the old lady did not quite like the idea of our declining her invitation, we tried to humour her by promising to have some tea or coffee after seeing the abbot of the monastery. Having thus come to such amicable terms with

the hostess, we went upstairs and found the *Kyaung daing Pòkgo* seated in an arm-chair and seemingly in a state of ecstatic meditation. After enquiring about our health, and asking us who we were, he led us to his audience hall. The *Póngyi* was the first to break the silence. He told us how dangerous is sedentary life, and what medicines he was taking to ward off the ailments brought on him by his studious habits. At this point our conversation turned on political and literary topics, and we were happy to find that our ascetic host was in his element in all of them. Next, we introduced the subject about the offerings made to the Buddha, and told him how much money was spent, or rather wasted, every year in the *Thayettaw Kyaung Daik*, how the *Kyaungtagas* prevailed on the priests to bring animal food to the sacrificial table, and lastly, how the sanctity and quietness of the *kyaungs* were invaded by the people having theatrical performances on the sacred premises. Our host attentively listened to our narration, and on our finishing it, he gave us a very edifying sermon on the respect which we ought to show to animals in general, stating how greatly the great Buddha insisted on the observance of this precept. He furthermore expressed his regret for the degeneration of the priests in the lower country, and said that it was no wonder that the *Sulagandi* or *Puritanic* sect had been founded. Just then the clock struck nine, and we thought that it was high time for us to make a start. Accordingly we took leave of the venerable *Póngyi*, came downstairs, and took some tea in accordance with our stipulations with our kind hostess. After tea, we jumped into our gharry and soon found ourselves in front of a noisy *sayat* near the *Shwe Dagon Pagoda*. Some *Kalathas*—young men—who knew us, gave us a hearty welcome. They took us up and kindly offered us some ice-cream, and bread and fowl curry, after giving us seats in a place, overhung with lilliputian *punkahs*, each of which was about 4 feet long and 10 inches broad. The owner of this *sayat* seemed to have European ideas in his head when he was fitting it up. We noticed that in it, English biscuits and English cakes had taken the place of native jams, jellies, and confectionery, and that its walls were adorned with European pictures, among which we saw a likeness of Queen Victoria. While we were having some refreshment, we saw a batch of *kalas* come into the *sayat*, who, after sweeping their eyes over the place, passed some remarks about a company of young Burmese ladies who were seated there. I would advise these intruders not to do

the like again, as all that they said was not at all appreciated by the *Kalathas* who were there, and, for anything I know to the contrary, these hot-blooded young men might take the matter up seriously and give them a rough handling. After having some betel, we parted with our friends, and directed our *gharry-walla* to take us to the *Thayettaw-Kyaung-Daik*. On our way there, we saw another *zayat* nicely fitted up and lighted with candles and lamps placed on terraced platforms. In this *zayat* we saw a company of old *Kyaungtagas* chanting at the top of their voice, the *Payeikkyi* hymns. Its appearance from far was, moreover, very Buddhistic and reminded me of some of the institutions in Upper Burma. About a quarter of an hour's drive brought us to our destination. We went into the sacred enclosure by a little bridge on the eastern side; and after much pushing and charging, in our efforts to thread our way through the crowd, we at last, reached the *Kyaung*, where one of our friends was awaiting us. The sacred building was very much overcrowded, and the remark of the Burman, "Lu-ma-shi-bu-he kala hnin Tayök kyí bè," "Heigh! there are no men (*i.e.* Burmans) but Kallas and Chinamen"—was perfectly justified. We soon learnt that the great stream of people pouring into this *Kyaung* was owing to a theatrical performance that was going on near the sacrificial tables. Here we noticed the cruelty, insolence, and rude bearing of some policemen, who, by means of canes, were exerting their muscular energy in keeping the crowd in order. The noisiness, profanity, and riotousness of this sacred abode, did not suit our liking; and precipitately, judging the state of the whole *Kyaung-Daik* by the standard of this one *Kyaung*, we started for home, which we reached at about 10-30 p.m.

Such is the *Thadingyut* festival annually celebrated in Rangoon, and when we come to consider its bearing on the social and moral condition of the people, we cannot but long for the day when a Martin Luther may appear and denounce the riotousness of its celebration and restore it to its pristine splendour and simplicity.

A VISIT TO THE PO U DAUNG PAGODA.

IN October 1884, I, with some friends, paid a visit to the Po U Daung Pagoda, north of Prome. We started from Prome by boat, and reached the hill after a row of three hours and a half at half-past five in the morning. The Po U Daung Hill

seen at this time of the year, and at this hour of the day, was really a sublime sight. The early sun, before appearing as an orb of gold, had sent forth its twilight rays and lit up the scene in a silvery light. The hills, covered with custard apple and jack fruit orchards, presented a sea of verdure. The Pagoda, which crowns the Po U Daung hill, was, at the time of our arrival, enveloped in a thin mist, and lighted up by two kerosene lamps, which the piety of some people had placed there. It presented a weird and uncanny, though heart-rapturing and awe-exciting, aspect. We moored our boat close to a huge boulder, which, ages ago, some convulsion of nature had caused the earth to disgorge. We jumped on the sand-bank and equipped ourselves for the ascent. In case we might be thirsty, one of the boatmen kindly volunteered to carry a huge dried gourd filled with water. Hardy, long winded, and muscular was this man, and like a chamois or goat capered up the hill with an agility which baffled our efforts at imitation.

Po U Daung is the name, applied to the topmost of seven hills, which overlap one another like the steps of a terrace. It is about 3,000 feet in height. The derivation of its name is somewhat unsettled. An old man, of whom I enquired, said that it was so called because an old man ဝိုး—a grandfather, a common way of addressing old men among the Burmese—was found living there, when a certain king sent an exploring party to find a spot suitable for building a pagoda, while another equally practical old man said that this hill was so called after Po U, an old gardener who owned an orchard on it. However, I obtained another derivation which seems to be more compatible with local tradition. It appears that Gotama Buddha, after he had attained Buddhahood, honoured Burma with a visit, and, with a benevolent intention, left an impression of his holy feet near the Manchaung, a few miles distant from Minbu. Thence he walked along the Yoma range back to Myizimadetha—India. When he came to the hill in question, he turned the soles of his holy feet ဝေါတံတံသွေသွေထွေ, hence the appellation ဝေါတံတံသွေသွေ corrupted into Po U Daung. Here, the Sage met a male mole, who presented him with his burrowings, and for this piety was promised that, in some future period, he would become the three-eyed Dutta-baung. Now this mole had a wife, who had specially asked him to wake her, should the Holy Teacher pay them a visit. This, for some reason or other, he neglected to do; so when she found that Gotama had gone, she, in her wrath, ran after him, and at the top of her voice bawled out praying him to stop.

The Sage accordingly stopped on the top of a hill, which is now called Danyidaung တၢ်တၢ်တၢ်တၢ်တၢ် "the stopping and looking hill." So much for the derivation of the name, Po U Daung. Let me now describe our ascent.

Our serpentine path lay through a newly cultivated orchard abounding in sweet smelling flower trees. It is a mere foot-path winding along the sides of the intervening hills and formed by cutting out little terraces with a mattock. Our knee joints being somewhat stiffened with the cold of the morning, our ascent at first proved to be arduous. However, with bodies bent forward and our tired legs almost trailing behind us, we struggled on till we descried the pagoda a few feet from us. The Po U Daung hill is crowned with an immense alms-bowl-like piece of rock, which the people here call the ခုခပ်တၢ်တၢ် or "the cap of the hermit." On this rock a platform of brick is raised to the height of some 20 feet. Again on the platform thus made, the Po U Daung Pagoda is built. It is a shrine about 30 feet high: its form and architecture bespeak of its being the handiwork of Talaing masons or at least architects from the maritime provinces. Near it, there are two smaller recently built pagodas and an image-house, which bears date 1236, Burmese era, or 1874 A. D.

In this image-house, Gotama is represented in a standing posture, with the forefinger of his right hand pointing towards Prome, and Ananda, his beloved disciple, in a praying attitude, begging the Sage to explain his oracle more fully. On the platform we noticed that there was only one bell bearing the date 1226 B. E. corresponding to 1864 A. D., and that in the image house there was an asseveration stone, which, by becoming lighter or heavier, could indicate the success or failure of the undertaking of a pious votary who held it in his hands. We rambled about on the narrow platform to see some curiosities that might be found there, but curiosities in an archaeological sense, we could find none. In this perplexity, a friend of mine suggested that we might clamber up the bell shaped part of the pagoda and see what we could. We did so; and our trouble was more than repaid by the glorious scenery which presented itself to our view. At that time, the early sun had arisen and was not powerful enough as yet to dispel the light mist enveloping the hill on the western side. A cool, bracing mountain breeze had just sprung up and blew against our faces. To the east of us, far away near the horizon lies the Eastern Yoma to which is attached a glamour of mythology and history. Closer lie the villages where "peace and plenty cheer the

labouring swain," with their trim bamboo huts and pagodas peeping out of green groves. Closer still at the foot of the mountain range we were standing on, lies the mighty Irrawaddy seen like a winding stream of molten silver brightened up by the golden rays of the morning sun. To the north and south of us the Yoma range juts out its peaks covered with verdure. To our west the scenery could not be distinctly seen. A mist was hanging over it, and consequently the vision was not unlike that of a mirage. But one thing could be distinctly seen: there was a green streak of mountains looming in the far west. After feasting our eyes on such sublime sights, we left the platform to explore the "Hermits's Cap." This rock is surrounded on every side except the one, where it joins the next hill, by sheer precipices of some thousand feet in depth, and one cannot help experiencing an agonizing thrill at the thought of being rolled down any one of them. On the eastern side we saw two bamboo huts, one inhabited by two nuns, and the other by three lay devotees who had been observing their Sabbath in this quiet retreat for the last two years. Cut out in the rock are three caves, two of which are utilised by those three men and the third devoted to the custody of an old inscription engraved on a piece of sand-stone rock which is about 4 by 3 feet. The form of the letters is square, but not that of square Pāli. The inscription was placed there by Sinbyuwin, a son of Alaungpaya. It contains a record of his progress to Rangoon, his putting a new *ti* on the Shwedagōn, and the removal of the old *ti* to be enshrined in the Po U Daung pagoda. Over these caves, are images of the two traditional moles cut out of the rock, representing them in an adoring attitude and asking some boon from Gotama Buddha.

After spending about three-quarters of an hour rambling about amidst such scenes, we returned to our boat and were soon drifting down the Irrawaddy *en route* to Prome.

A RECENT PONGYI-BYAN.

WHEN GOTAMA Buddha was dying between the Sāl trees in the neighbourhood of Kusināra, his beloved and faithful disciple, Ānanda, enquired of him as to how his *Uttarāṇam*—the material combination of the elements—was to be disposed of on his demise. "Ānanda," replied the Sage, "in this world, the mortal remains of three classes of exalted persons are worthy of being disposed of in a way different from the obsequies of the *Vulgus*. These persons are: *Chakravartins* or

Universal Monarchs, *Paccokabuddhas*, and *Buddhas*." It is in conformity with this fiat, that, in after times, the funeral rites of the priests are observed quite differently from those of the common people, though it may be remarked, by the way, that the *Póngyis* of the latter days are neither *Buddhas* nor *Paccokabuddhas*.

On Sunday, the 30th November 1884, the cremation of a *Póngyi* took place a little to the north-east of the Shwedagôn Pagoda. This priest was U Nyana by name, and is said to have been a *Ngèbyu* or pure from infancy. He was, it is said, on the verge of sixty, and well-versed in Buddhistical lore. His weight of years, his learning and his talents, added to which the fact of his being a celibate all his life, rendered the halo of sanctity surrounding his person all the brighter. Hence the greatness of the deference shown by the people to his remains, and the grandeur of the ceremonies which witnessed their disposal.

A small, somewhat level plain of about three-fourths of a mile in circumference was selected as the scene of these ceremonies. Dotted on the margin of this plain were erected spacious bamboo booths adorned with *kalagas*, where the daughters of the land with their fair graceful hands distributed *let-pet*, *pan*, tea, coffee, and all manner of confectionery among the passers-by. And to do justice to these good things offered, a miscellaneous crowd composed of various nationalities was observed moving about listlessly from one shed to another. There were Suratis, Chinamen, Eurasians and Europeans, landlubbers and sailors with their slouching gait—all either feasting their eyes on the grand scene before them or doing full justice to the delicious eatables kindly offered them. There was Tommy Atkins in his red coat walking arm in arm with his friend sailor Jack, and being a landsman explaining to his chum what all the concern was about. In one corner we descried an Indian juggler performing his legerdemain tricks, and, with a piteous look, turning towards his spectators as if to say "Do help a poor forlorn brother. The struggle for existence is so keen, that every one must do something to keep his stomach full." Amidst this hubbub, and this babel of voices, the crackling sound of fire was heard. And now let us see what its cause might be. In the middle of the plain was constructed a *pyatthal*, a bamboo storeyed structure, of some thirty feet in height. This structure was divided into two parts: the lower and the upper. The lower served as a stand, and the upper, fitted

into the former by means of a moveable pivot, contained the last remains of the *Póngyi*. The corpse wrapped up as it was in many layers of cloth and gilded and bereft of its entrails, was placed in a perforated iron coffin, around and below which burned pieces of fragrant wood. The moveable portion of the *pyatthat* was made to revolve on its pivot so that the fire might be the more fanned by the stirred up breeze. Not far from this *pyatthat* was an imitation in paper of the *Nibban kyaungdaw* built by the Malla princes for the custody of Gotama's remains. This was really very ingeniously constructed. From far and under a cloudy sky it looked not unlike a substantial brick building. Besides these two, there were other bamboo structures contributed by the pious and devout Rangoonites, standing all round the one containing the coffin. These last were decorated with native drawings depicting the scenes mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures. Standing near the burning fire as we were, and knowing as we did that all these gaudy costly things were to be burnt to ashes, we could not help contemplating on the wasteful extravagance of the Burmans and wishing that Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Henry Fawcett had been born as Burmans, so that they might instruct their fellow-countrymen in the truth of economic science, the distinction between productive and unproductive consumption, and the banefulness of wilful extravagance to themselves, their nation, and their country. Soon the whole plain was ablaze, and the whole of the spectators including ourselves, not wishing to be scorched alive or suffer our olfactory nerves to be attacked by the violently offensive smell proceeding from the dead recluse, betook themselves home thoroughly satisfied that they had witnessed the cremation of one of those who—

“Along the cool sequestered vale of life

Had kept the noiseless tenour of their way.”

THE FEAST OF THE FULL MOON OF TABAUNG AT RANGOON.

AFTER the consecration of a pagoda, it is a Buddhistic custom to appoint a certain day in the year for holding an annual festival in its honour. The full moon of Tabaung is set apart for the annual festival in connection with the celebrated Shwe Dagon Pagoda of Rangoon. This pagoda was, according to its history, built by Tapóktha and Palika in the year 588

before Christ, and is said to contain the water-strainer of Kaukkathan, the bathing-cloth of Gawnagôn, the staff of Kathapa, and eight hairs of Gotama. It is believed by the Burmese to be the most ancient of the Buddhistic shrines. The festival in its honour falls on the full moon day of Tabaung of each year. On the evening of the day previous to the grand festival, crowds of people may be seen busying themselves with erecting sheds to afford shelter to pilgrims coming from distant and neighbouring places to offer their prayers and offerings at the shrine of Shwe Dagôn. The festival may be said to commence at 3 a.m. on the full moon day, and may be divided into two portions, viz: (1) from 3 a.m. to 8 a.m.; and (2) from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. The former portion is assigned to the townsfolk and the latter to the country people. Whether the townsfolk believe that they acquire more merit when they offer prayers and offerings early in the morning or whether they wisely take advantage of the cool of the morning, it cannot be properly ascertained. After the townsfolk have finished their devotions, the country people start for the pagoda to begin theirs, and streams of them may be seen pouring from every street. Most of them stop at each shed erected along the road to partake of the hospitality that is charitably offered to them. The refreshments consist of betel leaf, sherbet, lemonade, pickled tea, plums, &c. There are also sheds called *Sataditha*, in which curry and rice are offered free of charge.

In reading descriptions of this kind, it is generally the case that readers are much more interested when they happen to peruse the personal adventures of the writer himself. In conformity with this view, I shall endeavour to describe in a few words what I actually saw and what reflections it gave rise to in my mind at the festival of 1883.

We started for the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda at about 8 a.m. on the festival day. On our way there, we saw a great many charity-sheds crowded with people of both sexes and all ages partaking of the refreshments which were offered to them. Any foreigner, who has seen such a grand religious festival, at which money is lavishly spent for the acquirement of bliss in the next world, will, I believe, be convinced in the opinion that the Burmese are truly a liberal and open-handed race. I am of opinion, however, that this extreme liberality might be easily turned into a proper channel if the Burmese could be impressed with the truth of Lord Lytton's dictum that "Charity is Virtue; but misguided Charity is Vice." After

threading our way through thick crowds of people, we at last reached the platform of the Pagoda. The first thing that struck us was the great number of people throwing pots of water on images and small pagodas in order to cleanse them of the dust. Next we noticed that the steps and the pathways on the platform were lined with small baskets and pieces of cloth, placed by beggars, for the purpose of receiving alms in the shape of pice and rice. On inquiry, I found out that one beggar alone placed at least four or five such receptacles for alms. It is a pity to see many able-bodied persons begging. I approached a beggar-woman who had no infirmity whatever, and asked her why she was begging. She answered: "I belong to the beggar-class, and have to beg for my living." Although there is no iron bond of caste among the Burmese as among the Hindus, yet there exists certain class antipathies; but these, I am happy to remark, are fast dying out under the impartial and benign influence of British rule.

After visiting some images, we desisted, at a short distance, a crowd of people gathered under the shade of a tree. On reaching the spot we saw a man kneeling and solemnly making some asseveration, praying to the *Nats* to decrease or increase the weight of the stone which he was holding in his hands, in order that he might know whether or not his undertaking would come to a successful issue. It is believed by most Buddhists that a difference between the weights ascertained before and after making an asseveration is actually felt according as the undertaking mentioned by the devotee meets with the favour or disapproval of the guardian *Nats*.

On our way back, we saw some bookstalls where song books, story books, and dramatic works were offered for sale. Of the many boons conferred upon Burma since the British conquest, that of the printing press is, perhaps, the greatest. The labour and difficulty of making and procuring copies of works are no longer experienced, for palm-leaves and stylus have been replaced by paper and type. One disadvantage, however, under which the reading public now labours is, that the printed dramatic works so popular and eagerly sought for, appeal rather to the ear than to the understanding. Their authors seem to prefer gibberish rhyme to plain writing and to make sense subservient to sound. Nevertheless, we are highly indebted to these books as they have a tendency to keep the minds of the people employed, and thus to teach them to discard indolence, if not to acquire virtue.

At about 9-30 a.m. we reached home with the sweet satisfaction that our morning had not been spent in vain.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THEINS.

ACCORDING to the sacred books of the Buddhists, one of the essential conditions of the validity of an ordination ceremony is, that the *thein* (Pāli: *simā*), wherein it is performed, must be a properly constituted one. Such a *thein* must be situated on land called *withōṅgāma* (Pāli: *visumgāma*), that is to say, land of a specified, but always small and insignificant, area, set apart for the purpose, over which the temporal power has absolutely relinquished its rights of ownership.

The difference between a *kyaung* land and a *thein* land is, that in respect of the former the secular power has a right to resume possession after giving another land in exchange. This right is, however, circumscribed by the reservation that, where a *kyaung* has been declared by its builder to be *thingika* or belonging to the whole Buddhist priesthood as a body, possession of the land on which it stands cannot be resumed. Even where a *kyaung* is *thingika*, according to a legal fiction, Government has a right, but which has never been exercised, to claim one-tenth of the produce or usufruct of the land on which it is situated. Therefore, whenever it is desired to build a *thein*, both within the limits of a *kyaung* land and elsewhere, the permission of the temporal power is a *sine qua non* in validating its constitution. Such permission is a mere matter of form, and is granted—in the case of *kyaung* lands, without reference to the builder or trustees of the *kyaung*, whose rights of ownership over the building ceased as soon as it was consecrated—to a layman and not to a monk, in whose favour Government irrevocably alienates its rights of ownership in respect of both the land and its produce or usufruct. The right of ownership, however, ceases to be vested in the grantee or its trustees as soon as the *thein* has been consecrated, when the *thein* and the land on which it stands are held to belong to the whole body of the Buddhist priesthood.

No apprehension need be entertained that land on which a *thein* was built would be devoted to any other purpose, because it is held sacred in the eyes of the people, and also because, according to their religious beliefs, no building other than a *thein* must be built on it when the former edifice falls into

ruin. There may be cases where extreme necessity or the forgetfulness of the present generation has caused a deviation from the rule. But such cases are extremely rare.

Private ownership may be exercised in respect of a piece of land on which a *thein* is desired to be built; but, in order to its proper constitution, the sanction of the temporal power which is held to exercise absolute ownership over "land and water," must have been previously obtained.

The question as to the proper constitution of *theins* is a most important one, because it affects the whole Buddhist priesthood. It is not the first time that the secular authority has been called upon to decide in the matter. In the 11th and 15th centuries A.D., the Kings of Burma were much exercised in their minds as to whether the *theins*, wherein Burmese *pōngyis* were ordained, were properly constituted, and they sent monks to Ceylon, where there were proper *theins*, to receive their ordination.

I append a translation of an extract from the Kalyāni Inscription and of some of the Royal Orders according sanction to the constitution of *theins*.

Extract from the Kalyāni Inscription.

If it be asked what is meant by a *withōngāma* land, it may be answered that it is a piece of land situated within the limits of a town or village, which is granted by the King after specifying the amount of revenue derived therefrom and declaring it to be *withōngāma* land. The area of the land is also specified, and the grantee is a

*A person to whom the revenue of a village is assigned. *ywaza** or *thugyi*. It is not material whether any revenue has accrued from the land.

Extracts from the Royal Orders.

(a) Of Bagyidaw. Royal Order, dated the 13th waning Tegu 1183 (April 1824).

Read an application of Shin Tezawunta and Shin Waramyinzū of Sigyizwè and Padin villages respectively, situated in Pindalè township, praying that, there being no *thein* wherein monks can perform the acts prescribed for their Order, a *thein* may be constituted on a piece of land, whose perimeter is 70 yards, and which is situated close to the Sigyizwè pagoda, and that Nga Ywè, Myedaing of Sigyizwè

*To whom the revenue of the land is assigned. village, may be appointed to be the *Myesa** of the *withōngāma* land; that a *thein* may be constituted on a piece of land situated within the

Padin Kyaungdaik (the limits of the Padin *kyauṅ* land), and measuring 40 tas (140 yards) from east to west and 51 tas (178½ yards) from north to south, and that Nga Nu of Padin village may be appointed the *Myesa* of the *withōngāma* land.

Rescript: Nga Ywè, Myedaing of Sigyizwè village, and Nga Nu, of Padin village, are appointed to be *Myesas* of *withongama* lands. Let *theins* be constituted on these lands.

(b) Of Mindôn Min. Royal Order, dated the 4th waxing Nadaw 1228 (December 1866).

Read Nga Shwin's application.

Rescript: In order to enable monks to perform the acts prescribed for their Order let Nga Shwin be appointed the *Myesa* of a *withongama* land, measuring 28 tas (98 yards) in perimeter, and situated within the limits of the *kyauing* land of Damakya village, Alaunggyan township, Mandalay district, and let the said Nga Shwin constitute a *thein*.

(c) Of Thibaw. Royal Order, dated the 7th waning Tazaungmôn 1240 (November 1878).

Read an application of the Thudama Sadaws.

Rescript: In order to enable monks to perform the acts prescribed for their Order let Akunsaye Nemyosithukyawdin be appointed the *Myesa* of a *withongama* land situated within the Bôngyaw Kyaungdaik (the limits of the Bôngyaw *kyauing* land), Southern division, Mandalay.

BUDDHIST ARCHBISHOP FOR BURMA.

AFTER the British annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, it was considered to be politically expedient to recognize the Buddhist hierarchy with the Taungdaw Sadaw at its head. Under Burmese rule three per cent of the population of Upper Burma were monks, and in Mandalay itself there were 13,227 members of the Order, or about eight per cent of the total population. It was necessary to utilize the traditional machinery in dealing with this large number of *pôngyis*, whose influence over the people had always been great. The monks are not only spiritual guides, but are also teachers of the Burmese people. Every Burmese boy must go through a course of studies in a monastery as a novice. Admission into the novitiate is like baptism among Christians, and the investiture of the sacred thread among Hindus; it is a solemn act of confirmation in one's religion. For uplifting the masses morally, intellectually and socially, the *pôngyi* is a most effective lever and it is an act of political wisdom to guide his energies and aspirations in the proper channel. The Taungdaw Sadaw was noted neither for learning nor administrative ability; but he had been Thibaw's teacher when the latter was an obscure prince, whom nobody ever dreamt of seeing on the throne of

Burma. The fact of having been the Royal Preceptor, however, gave him sufficient prestige and he was a very good figure-head. He died in 1895. The *ex*-Ministers and *Sadaws* of Mandalay could not agree upon his successor, and two rival factions arose: one headed by the Megawadi *Sadaw*, and the other by the Pakan *Sadaw*. Neither of these candidates was recognized by the British Government. In 1901, the people of Mandalay, led by the venerable Kinwun Mingyi, C.S.I., again agitated for the appointment of a *Thathanabaing*, or Buddhist Archbishop. In October of that year, a very large and representative meeting was held at the foot of the Mandalay Hill, and the election was by voting. The *Moda Sadaw* secured the largest number of votes, and the candidate who stood next to him was the Taunggwin *Sadaw*. Lord Curzon met the *Thathanabaing*-elect at Mandalay in the following November, and discussed with the local officials the question of recognizing a Head of the Buddhist Church in Burma. A singular fatality appears to attach to every *Sadaw* who has aspired to be *Thathanabaing*. The *Moda Sadaw* was no exception to the rule, and he died of fever in March 1902. The necessity of a fresh election was obviated by the insertion of a provision in the rules relating to the previous one that in case of the refusal, inability etc. of the first candidate to accept office, the second on the list must be elected. Thus, like President Roosevelt, the Taunggwin *Sadaw* attained the supreme place by the sudden intervention of death. The Taunggwin *Sadaw* is 59 years old, and is hale, hearty and strong. His eyesight is, however, weak, as there is a cataract in one eye. He is of commanding stature and is of active habits. He is well versed both in secular and religious literature, and being endowed with tact, common sense and judgment, his decisions in ecclesiastical matters have always given satisfaction. He received his education in the colleges presided over by the Bôngya-v and Sangyaung *Sadaws* and is well acquainted with the traditions of the office of *Thathanabaing*. He comes of an aristocratic family; he is a cousin of U Pe Si, C.I.E., *ex*-Myowun of Mandalay, and a grandson of the Kyauksauk Mingyi, the Burmese Plenipotentiary, who signed the Yandabo Treaty of 1826. If he had joined the Burmese King's service, he would probably have attained high office as a Minister; but he elected the austerities of a monastic life, with its simple living and high thinking. In a few weeks, Sir Hugh Barnes will instal the Taunggwin *Sadaw* as *Thathanabaing* at Mandalay and present him with a *sanad*

and seal of his office. The news regarding the recognition of a *Thathanabaing* by the British Government has given immense satisfaction to the Burmese people, who look upon him as one of the moulders of their destiny, and as the main sustainer of the religious and intellectual traditions of their race.

Besides the practically unanimous desire of the Burmese community in Upper Burma for a duly recognized *Thathanabaing*, there are other reasons which have weighed with the Government of India and the Local Government in their present decision. There are strong administrative reasons for recognizing a supreme head of the Buddhist Church. It is essential in the interests of the administration of civil justice that there should be a recognized and properly constituted head of the Buddhist Church, whose decisions in ecclesiastical matters would be final and conclusive, and could properly be acted on by the secular courts. The Government of India have, therefore, agreed that the appointment of a *Thathanabaing*, selected by a non-Government agency, should be recognized by Government, his jurisdiction being limited to Upper Burma. His ecclesiastical jurisdiction will be recognized only so far as it affects ecclesiastical as distinct from administrative matters. He will be supreme in all matters relating to the internal administration and control of the Buddhist hierarchy in Upper Burma, the discipline of the monastic Order and the repression of abuses therein.

THE THATHANABAING.

THE 13th of November 1903 is a red-letter day in the annals of Burma, for on that day the decision of the Government to recognise the Taunggwin *Sadaw* as the *Thathanabaing* of Upper Burma was announced in public Durbar by the Lieutenant-Governor. We congratulate the learned *Sadaw* on his accession to his high office, and the Province on the far-seeing and the statesmanlike policy pursued by the Government. The tactful and sympathetic speech delivered by Sir Hugh Barnes on the occasion gives a summary of the relations between the British Government and the Buddhist Church since the annexation of Upper Burma, and contains a vindication of the policy which appears to be regarded in some quarters as a departure from the attitude of strict neutrality hitherto assumed by the ruling Power towards all indigenous

faiths and sects. To our mind such a vindication is scarcely necessary because Lord Dufferin, in a speech delivered at Rangoon in 1886, had "promised the Buddhist community that the British Government would respect their religion, would recognise the dignitaries of their Church, and would place them on an equal footing with other religious communities of India," and because in pursuance of this wise policy, the Taungdaw Sadow, the *Thathanabaing* appointed by King Thibaw, was recognised by the British Government, was unmolested in the exercise of his functions, and was even invited to assume ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Lower Burma. The British Government, as the successor of King Thibaw, was bound to assume the rights and responsibilities of the late régime, so long as those rights and responsibilities were in accordance with justice, equity and good conscience. In the same manner that it paid his State debts, repressed rebellion and crime, and arranged for the dispensation of justice and maintenance of peace and order in the newly-acquired territories, it was considered politic to exercise an effective control over the thousands of monks scattered over the length and breadth of the land through the *Thathanabaing*, whom they had been accustomed to revere and respect in matters of doctrine and discipline. One of the reasons why British dominion over Asiatic peoples is so successful is, that Englishmen have a profound dislike to disturb existing arrangements, and they are always ready to accept native assistance and to respect and recognise and continue in their functions native dignitaries, whether lay or ecclesiastical. The *Thathanabaing* has been recognised, not because the Government revere his person, nor because we wish to give active support to the Buddhist religion to the detriment of Christianity, but because we are anxious, through his recognition, to be in close touch with the great community of Buddhist monks, and to secure their assistance in educating the masses and in relieving the work of our civil courts in the decision of ecclesiastical suits for which we have no competent agency. These points were clearly explained by Sir Hugh Barnes, and we cannot do better than refer our readers to his speech.

Under the Burmese Government, the *Thathanabaing* exercised extensive powers in ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters. He was the King's Preceptor and Counsellor-in-Chief, and, in matters of great public importance, his opinion always carried weight. But under the British Government, it is not expedient to leave his powers and privileges undefined

and in a nebulous condition, because there is no unwritten law, precedent, custom, or usage to appeal to, and because we are not prepared to accept unquestioned the authority of the Pāli Buddhist Scriptures, by which ecclesiastical affairs are governed. It was, therefore, necessary to draw up a *sanad*, and to grant it to the Taunggwin *Sadaw* on condition that he "shall continue to give his assistance and support to Government and shall not contravene, or countenance the contravention of its laws." The *sanad* openly declares that the *Thathanabaing* and his ecclesiastical dignitaries are subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the British courts of justice, and that subject to this proviso, the *Thathanabaing* is recognised as "supreme in all matters relating to the internal administration and control of the Buddhist hierarchy in Upper Burma, the discipline of the monastic Order, and the repression of abuses therein." Without the assistance of the secular authorities, the judicial decisions of the *Thathanabaing* and his dignitaries will not advance much beyond the stage of *obiter dicta*; so a provision, which will gladden the hearts of all *póngyis*, has been inserted that "the civil courts will, within the limits of their jurisdiction, give effect to the orders of the *Thathanabaing*, and of the *Gainggyōks*, *Gaingōks* and *Gaingdauks*, and other ecclesiastical authorities duly appointed by him, in so far as those orders relate to matters which are within the competence of those authorities."

Next to the enforcement of ecclesiastical decrees by civil courts, the most important provision runs as follows:—"The Government expect the *Thathanabaing* and the *Gainggyōks*, *Gaingōks*, and *Gaingdauks* under his authority to use their influence on the side of law and order and to assist in the work of education." The unruly monks, who do not know how to apply their energies usefully or make use of opportunities, will now be kept under restraint. We trust the Taunggwin *Sadaw* will soon have a census taken of them, will enforce monastic discipline among them, and will make them realise their great responsibilities as the educators of their race. We hope also that he will see that only duly qualified monks are admitted into the Buddhist Order in the future, and that they are kept fully occupied in their legitimate avocations of preaching, teaching and writing. As regards the work of education, it remains for the Director of Public Instruction to arrange with the *Thathanabaing* for the improvement of primary and secondary education in the vernacular.

It is understood that, owing to the interference of the late *Pakan Sadaw*, who was one of the candidates for the office of *Thathanabaing*, the majority of the monastic schools in Upper Burma are averse to receiving the help of secular assistant teachers or to being under the control of the Education Department. We have no doubt that, in this matter, Mr. Pope will be able to enlist the active co-operation of the *Taunggwin Sadaw* and his dignitaries.

The annexation of Upper Burma has taught us many useful lessons, amongst them the necessity of disarmament and the advantages of village administration. These two measures have led to the suppression of crime and the maintenance of peace and order. To these may now be added the recognition of the indigenous ecclesiastical organization, which cannot fail to produce equally beneficial results, conducive alike to the prosperity and contentment of the people, and to the consolidation and stability of British rule.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE THATHANABAING.

THE *Taunggwin Sadaw*, the *Thathanabaing*-elect, lives just behind the *Yahaing* bazaar on the road to the *Arakan Pagoda*. His monastery was built by the *Taunggwin Mingyi*, the Finance Minister of King *Thibaw*, who was the wealthiest official under the late Burmese Government. I apprised the *Sadaw* beforehand of my visit, and he readily agreed to receive me. At the appointed hour, I found him seated on a low bedstead in his library. He is of commanding presence, has a fair complexion, and appears to be a man of great vigour of both mind and body. His eyesight is, however, weak, and he told me that in his younger days he used to burn a great deal of midnight oil, and that his health suffered. In those days, kerosene had not been discovered, and the earth-oil used was the crude oil from *Yenangyaung*. He was very fond of Buddhist metaphysics, and he used to be rapt in deep thought till the small hours of the morning. He became a novice at the age of fourteen years, and has been in orders for 45 years. As he grew up he suffered from weak eyes, and was obliged to regulate his habits very carefully.

He is not particularly anxious to be the Supreme Head of the Buddhist Church in Upper Burma; but as he is shortly to be recognized by the British Government, he feels that he should not abdicate a position to which he has been called by

the unanimous voice of the people. He is loyal to the new order of things, and will do his best to maintain discipline in the Buddhist Church, to promote learning and education, and to assist in the maintenance of peace and order. He will be installed in November next by the Lieutenant-Governor, amidst much splendour and pageantry, and a *sanad* defining his powers and privileges will then be given him.

I asked him what he intended to do when he became *Thathanabaing*. He said he hated schisms from the bottom of his heart, and would do his best to promote the solidarity of the Buddhist Church by means of concession and conciliation. He would appoint an Advisory Board of three aged and learned *Sadaws*, headed by the Hladwe *Sadow*, who is 82 years old, and who receives a monthly dole of ten bags of rice from Government. The Board will be consulted in important ecclesiastical matters. He would also appoint a *Thudama* Council of eight *Sadaws*, who would help him in the transaction of ordinary business. Draft rules had been framed regulating the admission of monks into the Order, and their conduct while in orders, and defining the polity of the Buddhist Church. These rules would be submitted to the Local Government for approval, and, when approved, would have the force of law. For the regulation of ecclesiastical matters in the districts, he would appoint a number of *Gainggyōks*, *Gaingōks* and *Gaingdauks*, corresponding to the Cardinals, Bishops and Archdeacons of Christian Churches. In doing so, he would consult the wishes of the local monks and elders.

There was one important matter engaging the attention of the Taunggyin *Sadow*, and that was the procedure to be observed in the election of future *Thathanabaings*. I described to him how the new Pope was recently elected at Rome; and he was pleased with the suggestion that a similar procedure might be followed. In the Roman Catholic Church, every Cardinal could be a candidate for the Papacy, and a two-thirds majority was necessary for a valid election. Similarly, in Upper Burma every member of the Advisory Board and the *Thudama* Council, and every *Gainggyōk*, *Gaingōk*, and *Gaingdauk* would be regarded as candidates for the office of *Thathanabaing*. In future elections, the interference of laymen would be reduced to a minimum, and the ecclesiastical element would predominate, as it should in the nature of things.

I was quite pleased with my reception and with the subject

of the conversation. Both the Province and the Buddhist Church should be congratulated on the recognition of the Taunggyin *Sadaw* as *Thathanabaing*. He is a learned and liberal-minded man, who knows the tendencies of the times, and is skilful in steering the course of the Church, whose destinies have been confided to his care. There is no doubt whatever that the experiment of recognizing as *Thathanabaing* a *Sadaw* duly elected by the Buddhists of Mandalay will be successful, and be conducive to the spiritual, intellectual and material welfare of the people, and the Buddhists of Upper Burma and of Burma generally cannot but be grateful to Lord Curzon for his far-seeing, sympathetic, and statesmanlike policy in this matter.

CHAPTER VIII—EDUCATION.

EDUCATION IN BURMA:

FROM A NATIVE POINT OF VIEW.

THE recent formation of the Educational Syndicate in British Burma (in 1881) gives a keen stimulus to the cause of education in the Province. Having now a centralizing authority, more effectual work is now done, and there is no doubt that the Syndicate will, in time, blossom into a University Senate.

We regret to observe that the Government is unaided by private people in promoting education. Unlike in India, a Burman here, would sooner make a splendid donation to the monasteries than found scholarships, lectureships, &c. I have known of an instance where a Burmese lady, on the death of her son, gave Rs. 3,000 worth of priestly furniture to *pōngyis*. This money, I was told, was the legacy lately obtained by her deceased son.

Some foreigners will say that, in showing such extreme liberality towards the *pōngyis*, the people are actuated by a selfish motive of acquiring bliss in the next world and that the interests of the present existence are made subservient to those in the next. I shall not, however, enter into a labyrinth of philosophical discussion touching on this matter, but shall content myself by observing that much good has been, and is still being, done by *pōngyis*, who are a valuable asset to the Burmese nation. Their *kyaungs* are the seminaries, where the children of neighbouring villages receive their rudiments of learning; the sanctity which is attached to them has defied the intrusion of destructive invaders and, through all the revolutions and changes that the political and social institutions around them may have undergone, they still remain the safe repositories of Burmese learning and wisdom. Moreover, the austerity, which the *pōngyis* observe and the celibacy they enjoin upon themselves as a religious duty, prevent them from being drones upon the resources of the people. We, however, regret to see that no girls are allowed to join the classes in *kyaungs*. The rigid rules of monastic discipline do not justify the *pōngyis* to entertain female pupils, and consequently, the carrying on of female education, which is regarded by them as below their holy dignity, and as unnecessary by the people, has hitherto been left to the care of untutored masters. But the British Government is fully aware

of this omission and, wishing to place both men and women on a footing of social and intellectual equality, it is exerting itself vigorously in the cause of female education in the Province.

It appears that at present, in Burma, Western education possesses more advocates, if not votaries, than native learning. Nowhere is the use of the latter more appreciated than in the department of law. The interpretation of Burmese Law requires a thorough knowledge of Burmese and Pāli, and in that interpretation is involved the fate of thousands of people. But as most of the Dhammathats were translated from Talaing, the knowledge of it is also essential in the study of Burmese Law. The difference between the custom followed and the law laid down, may, perhaps, be attributed to the little encouragement given to the cultivation of native learning and to the difference of Burmese institutions from those of the people whose law they copied.

It is a great evil to this generation that boys should leave school with as little knowledge of their religion as they had when they were children. An ancient philosopher has observed that, if we have no God, we should create one; and the reason he gives for making such an assertion is, that, unless we lean upon some Being, perhaps, some mysterious Essence, who, we suppose, to be more powerful than we ourselves are, and all-sufficient, therefore, to direct our destiny, there can be no restraint upon our will, and, consequently, no guarantee against the predominance of the animal propensities in us. In my opinion, the intellectual training should go hand in hand with the moral one, and if this were not the case, the character of a people would suffer as a plant transplanted to a foreign soil. Now-a-days in Burma, old men and women complain that youths in general, who have a smattering knowledge of the English language, and who are not acquainted with Buddhistic doctrines, are apt to despise their national religion and their paternal calling, that they are not docile and obedient as before, but rash, independent and conceited. The little secular knowledge they have received must have inflated their youthful minds and changed their entire character. Moreover, they regard the acquirement of knowledge not as a means of attaining intellectual and moral excellence, but only as a stepping-stone to service under Government.

I remember conversing with an intimate friend of mine on the subject of education in Burma. He told me that the

Burmese, as a rule, do not care to study beyond the limited standard that will give them the qualifications necessary for joining a counting house, or adopting some simple or ordinary occupation for earning their livelihood, and that to this cause may be attributed the absence of private libraries among laymen. He said that the custom of measuring education by a pecuniary standard—that is, by the profits and emoluments it brings—is prevalent among the people. I myself, have conversed with many schoolboys, and I regret to say that when asked with what aim they are prosecuting their studies most of them answer “we study to acquire wealth.” The commercial spirit is not as yet so much in the ascendant among the Burmese as to justify these youths to make such an assertion, which, if coupled with another “Our parents are rich and will leave us legacies” will, I believe, necessitate the conclusion: “we need not study as our object will be attained when our parents die.”

In Upper Burma, there is only one incentive presented to ambitious students: it is exemption from paying taxes. Under a despotic and unstable government, where official caprice is the law of the country, where illegal extortion is prevalent, even such an exemption is considered to be a high privilege. I am of opinion, however, that the putting forward of such an incentive does not answer the intended purpose, as most of the successful candidates in the *pata-mabyau* examinations are yellow-garbed novices who cannot themselves avail of such an exemption.

It has been observed by foreigners that the Burmans are an indolent race. The geographical position of their country, the consequent abundance of the necessities of life, their open-handedness—all, perhaps, have a tendency to form this trait of character. They have been taught by their *pôngvis* that “to be energetic is virtuous,” but they seem to think that all the virtues are meant to be practised under the cloak of the yellow-garb only, and that the cultivation of literature, too, should be confined to the cloisters.

Nevertheless, in spite of the bigoted notions of the people and their apathy towards education, we should congratulate ourselves that the educational standard of British Burma has been raised to a comparatively high pitch. If an old resident of Burma, after an absence of some years, were to come back, he would, I believe, be surprised to see that an Educational Syndicate and a free Library have been established; that to

encourage education, scholarships of different values are given away to boys who pass different examinations, and that Burmans are holding high positions of trust and responsibility in Government service. More important changes may yet be in store for us. Perhaps, we shall see a University in Rangoon, an English newspaper edited by a Burman, and eventually the Englishman and the Burman amicably working side by side for the improvement of the Province and its people.

MORAL EDUCATION IN BURMA.

O ! curvæ in terras animæ et cælestium inanæ.*

Peravia.

AT one of the Syndicate meetings held to discuss the Director's scheme for the establishment of a College in Rangoon, the learned President, Mr. Jardine, speaking on the want of endowments, said that "by starting a general interest in education, we can diminish the attraction of the opium shop, the lottery, and the gambling-house," and Bishop Bigandet said that he did not think that secular education was, or ever could be, the corrective for vice and crime, and referred to the history of France, pointing out that many of the worst characters of the Revolution were well educated. We venture to concur in the opinion of the learned Bishop, and to believe, that, with regard to Burma, the peculiar institutions of the country make the blending of intellectual and moral training greatly imperative. In the May (1883) number of this Journal,† writing on the subject of education in Burma, we said: "It is a great evil to this generation that boys should leave school with as little knowledge of their religion as they had when they were children. An ancient philosopher has observed that, if we have no God, we should create one; and the reason he gives for making such an assertion is, that, unless we lean upon some Being, perhaps, some mysterious Essence, who, we suppose, to be more powerful than we ourselves are, and all-sufficient, therefore, to direct our destiny, there can be no restraint upon our will, and, consequently, no guarantee against the predominance of the animal propensities in us. In my opinion, the intellectual training should go hand in hand

* O ! the grovelling souls of men, basely turned earthwards and utterly void of any celestial aspirations.

† *Our Monthly*, now defunct.

with the moral one, and if this were not the case, the character of a people would suffer as a plant transplanted to a foreign soil. Now-a-days, in Burma, old men and women complain that youths in general, who have a smattering knowledge of the English language, and who are not acquainted with Buddhistic doctrines, are apt to despise their national religion and their paternal calling, that they are not docile and obedient as they were before, but rash, independent and conceited. The little secular knowledge they have received must have inflated their youthful minds and changed their entire character. Moreover, they regard the acquirement of knowledge not as a means of attaining intellectual and moral excellence, but only as a stepping-stone to service under Government." Now, the policy of the British Government in the East is not to interfere with the religion of their subjects, and to educate in schools youths of all denominations. Hence we find that this cosmopolitan idea of conferring the benefits of education on the heterogeneous population has banished every trace of religion from every Government school in the British Indian empire. In India the effect of this non-intervention policy is not so discernible, as in this Province. The caste system and the complicated forms of ritualism of the Hindus have perhaps, tended greatly in preventing most of them from becoming proselytes to Christianity or Islamism. But what can be said of the followers of Vishnu cannot be said with equal truth of the followers of the Buddha in Burma. Here, we find that, at the advent of Western civilization, Buddhism has fled from the towns and villages to the *pōngyi kyaungs* and pagodas, and that a smattering knowledge of Pali is eagerly exchanged for a smattering knowledge of English. Of course, we do not in the least impute the blame to Government for bringing about this regretful change. All that we wish to do here is, to point out that a mighty change has been wrought in the character of the Burmese people, and that it is the duty of every wise Government to see that the character of their subjects does not change from good to bad.

Before the Union Jack was planted on the Burmese soil, the Buddhist clergy were the instructors of the rising generation. The *kyaung* multiplication table was taught side by side with the *Mingala Thōk*, and the *Lokanīti* with the mysteries of "Bedin" or Astrology. In short, the venerable teachers wisely blended together intellectual and moral training. Although some may object to the absence of modern science and mathematics in the curriculum of studies in the *kyaungs*,

we are sure that no one can deny that such a training was quite sufficient for the wants of the simple population. Since the annexation of British Burma, however, the *kyaungs* are no longer looked upon as the national seminaries of intellectual and moral education. English schools have sprung up, and English teachers have proved that the instruction they impart is much better than that of the *pôngyis* inasmuch as it brings solid rupees to their pupils when they take service under Government, and the result is, that people send their children to *kyaungs* to learn the alphabet or to wear the yellow garb for about three days only, and that, as soon as this object is accomplished, they send them to English schools. Perhaps, at this point, some people may be willing to ask us whether such a change is prejudicial to the character of the people, and our answer to such a question will be a positive 'yes'; for is it not a patent fact, that the Burman youths of the present day receive no religious or moral training at home, that being brought up in no religion at all, they look upon pagoda-going as orthodox Buddhism? To corroborate our statement, we shall have not to go far. Go to any English school, and ask the Burman boys what they know of Buddhism, what the Buddhist rules of conduct are, and we are quite sure that nine out of every ten boys examined, will answer with gaping mouths and wondering eyes, that they do not even know exactly what the ten Buddhist commandments are; and yet on every sabbath-day, they go to *kyaungs* and solemnly promise to abide by the precepts which they do not know! Thus we find that poor Burman youths are now left to their own resources with regard to moral or religious training. Certainly they cannot get it from the *kyaungs*, which they have deserted; nor from the Government teachers, who teach them how to drive the quill to make money; nor from their parents, whom they do not respect and much less obey. A Burman youth up to his fourteenth or fifteenth year may remain under the authority of his parents, but beyond that age, he, like a pent-up bird, sighs for liberty, and, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, gets it. He is not long in finding boon companions, who first initiate him in the mysteries of courtship, and afterwards like a pernicious magnet, make him gravitate in the direction of the "opium shop, the lottery, and the gaming house." We have been told that, in the Henzada district, a number of young men had formed themselves into an opium-smoking club, and that the sole object of the organisation was to improve the colour of their complexion! This, then, is the rising generation

of the flourishing Province of 'Burma, and, according to the liberal policy of Lord Ripon, they are to be the future dispensers of justice, and the future wielders of the destiny of their fellow-countrymen.

It may be asked whether there are, at all, books on morality in the Burmese language, and it may be answered that there are, but that the repugnance of the people to a tolerably hard mental application has thrown such books as the *Lokaniti*, *Dhammaniti*, and *Rājaniti*, out of use. Perhaps, the Pali interpolation of these books may serve as a stumbling-block to the youths, but we do not think that this is a sufficient excuse to deter them from improving their morality. Professor Blackie of Edinburgh tells us that the formation of the Scotch character owes, in no small degree, to the printing and distributing of Biblical tracts, such as the Proverbs, among the people, and we do not see why a similar thing cannot be done here. We hope, however, that time will bring about such salutary changes.

It is our deep-rooted opinion that the cultured intellect really requires the aid of moral training. For what is an educated man without morality? He is an intellectual barbarian: he may be polished, but he is false and hollow. If the Burman youths, therefore, have only their intellect cultured, we are almost certain that the next generation of Burma will be quite different from the Burmans of our day; for, after receiving an English education, they cannot, indeed, become orthodox Buddhists: they must either turn Christians or devise a religion of their own like the Brahmo Somaj in India.

Writing about moral education in Burma, it would, perhaps, be well if we were to say something on what the Education Commission has arrived at in their deliberations on the subject. One of the recommendations of the Commission is, that an attempt may be made to prepare a moral text-book, *based upon the fundamental principles of revealed religion*, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges. Though the adoption of this recommendation was advocated by the writer on "Education and Morals" in the February number of this journal, we have some doubt as to whether the narrow-minded Burmans will view it in as favourable a light as he did. Buddhism is refined Agnosticism possessing a comprehensive code of morals; this being so, we are somewhat sure that Buddhists will stagger at the doctrine acknowledging the existence of a Mighty Creator. A people,

who, since their youth, have been taught to look upon themselves as the wielders of their own destiny, to understand that the highest felicity can be attained by their own individual exertion, and to regard *Nirvāna* as the goal of their exertions, cannot be otherwise. If then, such a recommendation were adopted, we are afraid that it would, in no small degree, operate against the religious susceptibilities of the Burmans. The safest course to take in this matter appears to be to follow in the wake of the newly-constituted Panjab University, and establish an Oriental faculty for the encouragement of vernacular studies, which mean native literature on morality, as the greater part of Burmese literature is nothing but on Buddhist morality. The local Syndicate might then be authorised to examine in native classics like the Hanlin Board in China. Even if such a course were pursued, we do not think that our aim could be satisfactorily attained in all its bearings. Mr. Froude in his inaugural address delivered to the students at St. Andrew's on March 19th, 1869, said that the Oxford University trained her *alumni* for the clerical profession and that she delighted in instilling the *literæ humaniores* into them, and that in spite of this, the national character had undergone a mighty change for the worse. He said: "Churches have been doubled; theological books, magazines, reviews, newspapers, have been poured out by hundreds of thousands; while by the side of it, there has sprung up an equally astonishing development of moral dishonesty. From the great houses in the city of London to the village grocer, the commercial life of England has been saturated with fraud. So deep has it gone that a strictly honest tradesman can hardly hold his ground against competition. You can no longer trust that any article you buy is the thing which it pretends to be. We have false weights, false measures, cheating and shoddy everywhere."* Thus, we see that a plain training in classics breeds the morality of the Athenians, who knew what was good, but would not do it. But then anything may have another thing that counteracts it, and so does a purely classical training. Home influence, and nothing but home influence, is the thing that will not only mollify the hard qualities of a man, but will also teach him in a considerable degree how to make a practical use of his *literæ humaniores*.

In Burman homes, however, such a thing as home influence is, as we have said, almost unfelt, and its absence, we believe,

* Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, Vol. II.

may be attributed to the ignorance of Burman mothers. It is true that Burmese girls can, as a rule, read and write; but no intellectual and moral training consists in merely how to read and write. If this were the case, of all nations under the sun, the Burmans would be deemed the most educated and the most accomplished people, for nearly all of them can read and write: but such is not the case. At this juncture then, the only compromising suggestion we can make is, that the intellectual and moral training of the Burman girl should go side by side with that of the Burman boy, and that the watchword of the Government should be "Raise the moral and intellectual status of the girl, and the moral and intellectual status of the boy will be raised."

There is one factor, however, which we have left out of consideration; and that is, the influence which books have on moralising or demoralising a people. Books have, in all civilized ages, been employed as one of the chief means for insinuating oneself into the favour of the people. Gibbon says that obedience can be enforced either by compulsion or persuasion, and, therefore, it is but natural for men to have recourse to persuasion embodied in books when the brute force has given place to the force of reason. Milton says: "and yet on the other hand, unless wariness be us'd as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's Image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the Image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life." The Burmese writers, however, seem to be ignorant of the use of this principal weapon. The majority of the Burmese books of the present day appeal rather to the ear than to the understanding and the heart. Their authors seem to prefer gibberish rhyme to plain writing and to make sense subservient to sound. This is the reason why most of the Burmans have a repugnance to read their own modern books, which, instead of serving to instruct them in morals, initiate them how to play the gallant in social gatherings.

When things are at such a pass, we cannot help hoping for the day, when the Burmans will be taught that much of the morality expounded in their own Buddhistic books is not tinsel, but true gold, when Burmese mothers will instil high principles

into their children, and lastly, when Edgeworths and Yonges will arise to instruct Burmese children in morality in a popular and palatable form. In the meantime, it behoves educated Burmans and others interested in the welfare of the country to suggest or devise such measures as will mitigate, at least, if not entirely remove, the growing evils to which we have drawn attention.

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN BURMA (1885).

IN a place like our good city of Rangoon, anything that breaks the monotony of our life—a Municipal election, the establishment of a Government College, or a lecture at the Young Men's Institute,—is always received by us with a hearty welcome. On the 1st of July 1885, Dr. Marks of the S. P. G. Mission, than whom, with the exception, perhaps, of Dr. Bennett and Bishop Bigandet, no one can speak with a fuller authority on the "Progress of Education in Burma," delivered an able lecture on that interesting subject.

By 8 p.m. on that day the Hall of the Young Men's Institute was quite full; and when the clock struck nine, the lecturer began his discourse. After defining the aim of all education to be the development of our physical, intellectual, and moral qualities, and stating, like Lord Ripon, that no system of education would be perfect without religion, the lecturer proceeded to favour us with a sketch of the progress of education in the Province. Dr. Marks divided educational machinery into two kinds—indigenous, represented by monastic and lay or secular teachers, and Western or European, by the various missionary bodies settled down in the country, doing their work nobly and well, with a devotion and disinterestedness, which Christian teachers alone, inspired by love and fellow-feeling, could show. The account about indigenous education was disposed of rather summarily with the remark that no girls were educated in the monasteries and with a racy anecdote that, once when Dr. Marks enquired of a *póngyi* why girls were not received in his school, his quaint reply was: "Let girls learn domestic work. Let them acquire merit in this present existence; and in the next, when they become boys, they can then attend the *kyaungs*." In the course of his discourse, the reverend lecturer paid a high compliment to the Burman *kyaungtha*, adding how tractable, docile, obedient, and amenable to discipline he was, and how respectfully he conducted himself towards his teacher. From the king downwards—and

we were told that the late King Mindón always used the expression သောတေဝံ "your royal disciple," in his conversations with Dr. Marks—it seems that a form of reverence and respect, only found in Buddhistic countries, were accorded to the "Dominie." Nay, even in their prayers, the people coupled their "Saya" with their parents. So much about indigenous schools; and now for the Occidental system.

The missionary bodies carrying on educational work in Burma were represented by various Christian sects. First of all, as evidenced by Father Sangermano, came the Barnabite friars, who, after founding seminaries in Syriam and other places, when Burman rule was on the ascendant, at last, succumbed to the combined force of superstition, prejudice and national arrogance—an arrogance, which denied the title of *lu*, "human", to all other races. Then came the American missionaries, driven as they were from Bengal to Burma. They were headed by Judson, whose name will ever be dear not only to the descendants of the natives he had converted, but also to all students of the Burmese language because he was the first Anglo-Burmese lexicographer and the translator of the Bible. Justice was done to his memory. Good man he was and true, and though imprisoned, with famine, pestilence and war, waging around him, he was still the true lion-hearted Christian, true to his Saviour, and true to his duty of leading others to salvation. The work inaugurated by him had been carried on by his no less energetic, kind-hearted, and zealous successor, Dr. Mason (now no more), and by Drs. Vinton, Bennett, and others. High eulogium is also due to the devoted wives of these missionaries for having tried their best—and as to their success, the annual list of the successful candidates in the Provincial examinations will testify—in ameliorating the condition of the Burman girl, and making her an intellectual and moral helpmeet for the Burman boy. Among these lay missionaries, Mrs. Ingalls, Mrs. Bennett, and Mrs. Vinton stand at their head.

The Roman Catholic Church is here represented by Bishop Bigandet and Brother Valens. They have also scholastic institutions in Rangoon, Bassein, Okpo, and Mandalay. They have also convents, presided over by sisters, who have left their house and home, and renounced all that "beauty, all that wealth e'er gave" to come and teach the little Burmese girls in the Far East.

We now come to the efforts of the S. P. G. missionaries here in the work of education. Dr. Marks arrived in the country in

1859. He founded a school in Moulmein. There were at the time, a government school under Mr. Hough, a Roman Catholic school, a private school maintained by Mr. Gilbert (now Principal of the Rangoon College), which subsequently merged into the Moulmein Town School. In 1863 at the request of Colonel Phayre (now Sir Arthur), then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Dr. Marks came over to Rangoon and founded the present St. John's College. Parenthetically the lecturer explained that it was so called because he was promised by the S. P. G. Society in England that he would be aided in his good work by two other ordained clergymen, two English masters, with whom he was to work in a regular collegiate style. How far this promise had been redeemed was left to the audience to enquire. It seems, that in all the schools, Dr. Marks had founded, whether in Rangoon, Thayetmyo, Myanaung, Henzada, or Mandalay, not a single anna was contributed by the Society at home. Before a school was built, the procedure he adopted was to set up a temporary building,—once in Thayetmyo while teaching in such a school with its burning thatched-roof almost touching his bald head, he nearly died of sun-stroke—, go among the people collecting subscriptions, and when the collected money amounted to Rs. 1,000, to ask Government for a grant-in-aid. To the genial-heartedness, keen statesmanship, liberality, and far-sightedness of the educational policy of Colonel Phayre, Dr. Marks bore his full testimony.

Last, but not least, was noticed the work done, and is still being done, by the Department of Public Instruction. Mr. Hough, the venerable Head Master at Moulmein was the first Director. He was a good officer and knew his work well. He mixed with the *pôngyis* and gained their love and confidence, and was thus enabled to introduce into the indigenous monastic schools, schemes of reform which his worthy "Chief," Colonel Phayre, had fully worked out in his comprehensive mind. The next Director was a certain Artillery Officer, who has written a big thick book on Burma which nobody cares to read. Once he came to visit Dr. Marks's school. He saw some sums in simple subtraction being shown to a class of boys, when with a grunt he exclaimed "Hum, hum, are the young Burmans so far advanced in Mathematics?" He put his eye-glass into his pocket and went away. Mr. Hordern, the present Director, was appointed in 1867. In his first report he complained of his having to travel about through jungles and swamps—for there were no railways then—over 90,000 square miles, and

having only six Government schools under his direct jurisdiction. Under his fostering care, the number of Government schools has multiplied to 42, with a goodly number of boys with beaming faces, and now all the educational schemes are to culminate in the foundation of a central Provincial College at Rangoon. A College Scheme is already before the Government of India, and at this point we might add that the hope of Sir Charles Aitchison, lately Chief Commissioner of British Burma, expressed in 1879 that the Rangoon High School would "bud into a college and blossom into a University for the Turanian races," is tending towards its fulfilment. As an adjunct to the account of the Governmental efforts in the cause of education, something was said about the local Educational Syndicate, called into existence by Mr. Bernard, what good work it has done, is still doing, and will do, when the Rangoon College is put under its control.

Then the lecturer wound up his discourse by exhorting the European and Eurasian parents, who were present, to look to the physical education of their children, to cast off all prejudice against allowing their sons to mix with Burmese boys, and lastly against their acquiring a knowledge of the Burmese language without which no boy can get on well in this country.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN BURMA. (1886)

AS Sir William Hamilton observes, the utility of a thing is of two kinds: absolute and relative. The same remark is applicable to education. Of its first kind of utility the Burmans are quite ignorant. When asked why they send their children to school their invariable answer seems to be: "To enable them, when we die, to get their living peaceably by means of intellectual labour." Yes, "by intellectual labour"—the words have a strange infatuating ring about them. Little do they know that the mercantile firms, courts, and offices are already crowded with apprentices, who, like paddy-birds one may see on the ridge of a field, patiently wait and wait—no matter what ill-treatment they undergo, what abusive language, taunts, and insults they are subjected to—for some employment. Their *raison d'être* is this: their children will be enabled to work in the shade; they will not be employed in the hot sun or in the rain, in the labours of the field or in any other form of manual labour. In fact, this idea is getting more and more widespread. Let us take an example. In the Rangoon

College, there are students whose fathers are Extra Assistant Commissioners, cultivators, traders, doctors, etc. And what is the plan entertained by their parents when they leave school? To get them enter Government service. Thus we find that sons of brain-workers try to retain their hereditary occupation, while the sons of manual labourers desert their paternal callings, which they look upon as derogatory to their *English speaking* dignity.

And now we are glad to see that, at last, one of the defects in the system of education pursued in the vast Indian Empire has at last been brought home to the authorities.—i.e., neglecting the teaching of manual work in the schools. This neglect has been going on since the Education Despatch of 1854 was framed, and the result is, that a great number of natives without any ostensible occupation, clamour for bread, complaining of the injustice of the British Government in not finding them any employment after giving them a fair western education. Perhaps, the framers of the despatch, though actuated by a philanthropic motive, were not aware of the great difference between the English social organisation and that in India and Burma. In England, people send their children to school—in most cases—to study the “three R’s” and then apprentice them to learn some honest bread-giving work; and the length of a boy’s stay at school is proportionate to the means of his parents, whose object seems to be to get their son trained to be not an intellectual monster, but to be a regular John Bull with plenty of animal energy, improved by football and cricket, so that he may be able to fight his own battle of life, single-handed and alone.

Let us now turn our attention to the Indian Empire. Here, parents send their sons to English schools with the predetermined object of getting them enter either the public service or the legal profession. In this deliberation, they are guided by the maxim contained in their religious books which extol an intellectual life and ignore the nobility of manual labour. Hence we find that the services under Government are literally stocked with the *alumni* of the Indian Universities, and that the industrial callings are getting more deserted by the natives. Monier-Williams, writing on the subject in 1878 says: “I believe the defects of our present system are beginning to be acknowledged. Many think we shall be wiser to educate the generality of natives in their professions and callings rather than above them; to make a good husbandman a better one,

a good mechanic more skilful in his own craft, and only to give higher forms of education in exceptional cases."

And now we hail with delight the news that the Local Government is going to create an appointment to be called the "Science Demonstratorship." The incumbent, we are informed, is to be a sort of an itinerant lecturer, who will go about among the principal schools and colleges in Rangoon giving lectures on the principles of practical mechanics.

We cannot be too sanguine of the result of these lectures. British Burma presents a virgin field for scientific research, and is reported to be rich in mineral wealth. Though its fauna, flora, and geological structure have been ably studied by Mason, Kurz, Theobald and others, much yet remains to be done. Nor has its industry been developed. The indigenous arts, such as pottery, weaving, agriculture, carpentry are still in their primitive state: about half a century's contact with western civilization has still left them unimproved.

EDUCATION IN BURMA:

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE RANGOON TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION ON THE 30TH JULY 1896.

WHEN I received an invitation from your President to deliver a lecture on any subject before this institution, I was at a loss as to the choice of a proper subject which would be of interest to you. After selecting the subject of Education in Burma it struck me that my attempt would be like bringing coals to Newcastle. To speak on education to an audience of educational experts may not be appreciated in some quarters. It is, however, said that an outside spectator may sometimes study, with calmness and without excitement, the principles of a game and try to learn them like those engaged in it. The observations I am going to make this evening will, of course, be those of an outside spectator, and I would ask you to bear in mind that I speak subject to correction. My object, indeed, is to invite discussion and afford food for thought rather than to furnish information.

I must premise by saying that the term "Education" is now generally understood to mean the harmonious development of our faculties, or rather, as its etymology implies, the drawing out of our faculties, physical, intellectual, and moral,

for the purpose of training, disciplining, and refining them. It took centuries in the course of human development to evolve such a comprehensive definition of education: and, in my lecture, I shall attempt to indicate whether such a definition was ever understood in this country.

After all, the destiny of a nation is moulded by its system of education; and, if Burma is ever to take her place among the nations of the world, her system of education should be watched with jealous care and fostered with assiduous attention. It is education that differentiates the European from the Asiatic and has made the nations of Europe great in human achievements, and it is education that has enabled Japan to assert her power against her powerful neighbour. In short, civilization itself with its concomitants: the security of life and property, peace and order, justice and freedom, is nothing but the inevitable result of an organized system of education.

In studying any subject, it is well that we should survey it in a comprehensive manner by taking also into consideration the essential accessories which can scarcely be separated from it. Thus, if we have to study an author, it conduces to our better appreciation of his merits and toleration of his faults, if we also bear in mind the age he lived in, the circumstances which moulded his character and genius, his parentage, nationality and education. In investigating, therefore, the subject of education in Burma, certain accessories should be considered. In the first place, the condition of Burma under native rule, which passed away in 1886, should be compared with that of some well known country in Europe, and an endeavour should be made to ascertain in what respects similarities and divergences exist. For this purpose, no country can be better chosen than England, to which we all owe our allegiance. Comparing England with Burma at the present time, it seems to me that the former country is at least 400 years ahead of the latter in all kinds of progress: social, material, intellectual, moral or political. To know Burma, then, under the native *régime* we must put back the dial of time to the days preceding the revival of letters in England, *i.e.* to say, before English thought and English life had been transformed by the labours of Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas Moore. In both countries three main principles of modern civilization, *viz.* liberty, justice and self-government, were absent. Thought was hampered in its expression, and vested authority or caprice had to be respected and implicitly obeyed in all matters. The priest interfered in

secular matters; religion was identified with monkish asceticism; the best intellects were withdrawn from the world; and the world was left to take care of itself or placed at the mercy of mediocrity, superstition, and ignorance. The difference which accentuated the condition of England was, however, the presence of the two ancient seats of learning at Oxford and Cambridge, which were the two oases in the barren waste of intrigue, pillage, war, and ruin. It was at either Oxford or Cambridge that the best intellects were nurtured, and it was there that the movements which profoundly affected England were originated. The Universities were richly endowed, and they afforded a safe asylum to the scholars of the age. They bore the impress of the labours of successive reformers, and of the refinement and culture, depth of thought and breadth of view, of the literatures of Greece and Rome. They held up to the nation at large the Greek ideal of liberty and beauty, and the Roman ideal of discipline, and of respect for constituted authority. Whatever has been achieved by England in later times: the extension of her wide dominion, the establishment of peace and order in her dependencies, her commercial and industrial supremacy, may mainly be ascribed to the influence of these and the sister Universities. In Burma, on the other hand, there were at times clusters of monasteries where learning was fostered, but their existence was ephemeral, owing to their dependence on the capricious will of despotic kings. There was no continuity in the traditions of learning, and the acquired impetus of former ages was wasted. Memory was highly esteemed, and its cultivation was carried on at the expense of the other faculties. The intellect became enfeebled, and judgment, that faculty which enables us to distinguish right from wrong and to arrive at truth, was obscured. Physical culture was ignored, and education was understood to be the knowledge by heart of philosophical or religious works. Owing to these similarities and differences, the work of the teaching profession in Burma is a most important one: it consists practically in bridging the gulf of four centuries, and in superimposing Western ideals and Western culture upon an oriental foundation.

England's method of educating the people in India and Burma is quite different from Russia's method in Central Asia. England attempts to rescue the vernacular languages from oblivion by fostering their study, and abstains from interfering with native systems of faith. Russia, on the other hand, ordains that Russian shall be the language of the people

and that her subjects should be encouraged to join the Greek Church to which the Russians belong. England's policy is based on the goodwill and contentment of the people, while Russia's policy consists in securing the unification of all her subjects by community of faith and language. Time alone will show the difference in the consequences of these two kinds of policy.

Opinion appears to be still divided whether education, as fostered by the State, should be carried on through the medium of the English language or that of the vernaculars. The matter was hotly discussed when Macaulay was Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council, and it was chiefly owing to his facile pen and trenchant style that the Anglicists won the day. The production evolved out of this movement is said, in some quarters, to be the Bengali Babu, who is generally described by writers on India as priding himself on the possession of a jargon of his own, and aspiring after English representative institutions and English liberty of thought and speech, in spite of the wide gulf that separates him from England by race, creed, and history. The constitution of the Education Department in Burma dates only from 1866, and it is to be trusted that the establishment of Macaulay's system of education has not produced much harm. One thing, however, is evident. One generation has passed away, and literary culture does not appear to be prized among the natives of Burma beyond the walls of the school or college. Further, the students who are supposed to know English, and who have passed high University examinations, are unable either to speak or write fairly well in that language. This is the complaint of the employers of labour, both official and commercial. There must be a defect somewhere, and it is generally supposed that the training given in the Lower Standards is susceptible of improvement.

As in philosophy, religion, and politics, the principle of compromise should be admitted in education. The indigenous methods should be studied and pruned of their excrescences and adopted wherever possible. Although memory and judgment exist in an inverse ratio, the cultivation of memory should by no means be neglected in the course of the training of the other faculty.

In this connection, I may as well state that the Burman Buddhists are delighted with the revival of the Patamabyan examinations, and I am told that they will be much more

pleased if scope is afforded to their immemorial habit of learning their religious works by heart and of reciting them in public.

The principle of compromise is especially important when education given by State agency is undenominational and secular, and when it is borne in mind that the people should be educated without denationalizing them, without causing them to lose touch with their countrymen.

It is said that education divorced from religion is of little value. This defect was recognized by the Government of India and orders were issued for the compilation of a moral text-book. In Burma, the books studied in indigenous schools are books on morality, and the proper conduct of life, and perhaps, more encouragement might be afforded to the study of these books in the Pāli and Burmese languages. There was a period in Burmese history when Pāli and Sanskrit occupied the same place in Burma as Latin and Greek still do in Europe, and there is no reason why Pāli should not be studied in the lower classes of our schools more widely than it is at present. To relegate Pāli studies to a secondary place has a tendency to cause young Burmans to lose touch with national thought and national life, and to force them to occupy an isolated position in regard to their fellow-countrymen. Here is a picture, perhaps, an exaggerated one, of an Indian Prince who had been solely educated in Western ways, thoughts and ideas, and who had been denationalized: "I am," the Prince said, "a hopelessly isolated man. No one in my family or within my dominion understands my thoughts, nor is there any one to whom I can unfold myself. My house"—or as we should say, 'the ladies of my house'—"regard me when I speak with straining ears as if they were trying to catch the sounds of a foreign language. I have no friend, and I can have none. My Ministers, though they obey me and look up to me, regard me as I should regard a Sanyasi* as ruled by motives which they do not comprehend, and warn me that the changes I should like best to introduce would shake my authority to its base. I am consumed all day by *ennui*; I can find no enjoyment in the national amusements, and I can see that the English amusements which I still enjoy strike my people as both tiresome and undignified."†

* A religious devotee living in solitude or isolated religious meditation.

† "The Indian Etoms" published in the *World* and reprinted in the *Rangoon Gazette* of 10th June 1896.

It speaks volumes for the prescience of Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner of Burma, when he decided to encourage the study of Pāli and to utilize the existing machinery of monastic institutions in carrying on the operations of the Education Department. In science, we study the mighty forces of nature and work with them and not against them; so in the conduct of human affairs, it will be a waste of power not to utilize, to their fullest extent, existing institutions which have gained the respect and reverence of the people. The *pōngyī* is still a power in the land, and it is politic to conciliate him. He has scarcely lost the glamour of power and authority with which he was vested under native rule. He is still the guide, philosopher, and friend of the Burmese people, and the influence wielded by him should not be ignored or despised.

The crowning work of the Education Department and the Educational Syndicate will be the establishment of a University for the Turanian races of Indo-China. The Local Government has ruled that the time has not yet come for the consummation of such an event. Whenever the time may come, and I hope it is not far off, it is for consideration as to which model our University should be assimilated. There are five Universities in India, *viz.*, at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. The first three were founded amidst the tumult of the Indian Mutiny on the model of the London University, and they are merely examining bodies. The fourth and fifth were founded a few years ago. The Allahabad University closely follows the Calcutta University, but the Punjab University has special features of its own. It is a teaching as well as an examining body, and possesses an oriental faculty, whose energies are specially devoted to the encouragement and cultivation of oriental literature. It also affords much countenance to the extension of the boarding system, whereby habits of obedience, discipline, organization, self-reliance, and manliness are acquired by boys at an impressionable period of their life. Considering the circumstances of Burma, the absence of the system of caste, and the habits of the people, it seems to me that, when we do get a University, we should have a residential one as in Europe, or, if we are obliged to go to India for our model, we cannot do better than follow the example of the Punjab University. It is a great thing to have a University of our own. Traditions will grow round the professorial chairs, the methods of teaching will be uninterrupted, and it is a gain to the country at large to have a body of men who keep alight the lamp of knowledge, who

are in a position to instruct us in the maturity of their wisdom, and who, like Professors Bryce and Jebb, sometimes descend from their serene heights and mix themselves in mundane affairs, and give us the benefit of their learning and experience. A University has also other uses: it teaches us the dignity of labour, the honourableness of poverty, and the hollowness of the worship of Mammon. In short, it is the best corrective for the materialistic tendencies of the age. This is what Mr. Gladstone, the veteran statesman and scholar said about the uses of a university, at a recent convocation of the University of Wales:—"A University, speaking largely and generally, represented the principle of mental cultivation. There never was a time when it was more urgently necessary that the principle of mental cultivation should be thrust into the foreground and held up on high before the entire community, for wealth-making conditions were multiplied to an enormous extent. The enjoyment and conveniences of life had grown around us even since his boyhood in a degree that could hardly be conceived by those who had not witnessed the change. The meaning of all this was that wealth was acquiring a still greater hold upon us. Wealth was a good servant but a bad master, and no master had the power of degrading the human being more than the unchecked dominance of wealth. Against the dominance of wealth a university represented the antagonism of mental cultivation. The mind of man was a rich domain, requiring only to be well ploughed and be well sown and to be attended in order to yield the richest harvest, and in order to maintain an effectual protest against that unchecked pursuit of material interests which constituted one of the greatest social and spiritual dangers of this period."*

When we do get a university, I hope female education will be extended. Educated wives are required for educated husbands, as ill-matched unions are, as a rule, not productive of much happiness. Besides, in the work of teaching children, which is generally tedious and up-hill work, the assistance of educated mothers must be invoked. Further, much remains to be done in the promotion of technical education. We have now law classes and an Engineering School; but we still want schools of Art and Engineering as at Madras or Bombay. The crying want of this province in carrying out these educational projects is the absence of endowments. Native opinion has yet to be educated to know that contributions

* Page 467 of the *Times* (Weekly edition) dated the 3rd July 1896.

given in the cause of education or medical relief are more meritorious than spending large sums of money on ephemeral objects, like funerals or festivals. But I daresay a change for the better will take place when a university has been established in our midst ; and then the people will learn how to live the life of modern times which is so full of incident and interest.

Indeed, this is an era of fermentation of ideas, of intermingling of thought, accelerated by the annihilation of time and space through the wonderful discoveries of science ; and the phenomenon of the vigorous, ever-pushing, and restless West storming the citadels of the placid, resigned, and conservative East, affords a spectacle of absorbing interest to the student of human nature. I cannot do better than quote the following lines of Tennyson :—

“ Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.”

The restless activity of Europe is the activity of Ulysses which is thus described :

“ Come my friends,

“ ’Tis not too late to seek a newer world.

“ Push off, and sitting well in order smite

“ The sounding furrows ; for my purpose holds

“ To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths

“ Of all the western stars, until I die.

“ It may be that the gulfs will wash us down.

“ It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,

“ And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.

“ Tho’ much is taken, much abides ; and tho’

“ We are not now that strength which in old days

“ Moved earth and heaven ; that which we are, we are ;

“ One equal temper of heroic hearts,

“ Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will

“ To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”

The placid contentment of the East is that of the Lotos eaters :

“ Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore

“ Than labour in the deep mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar ;

“ Oh rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wander more.”

A PLEA FOR A UNIVERSITY FOR BURMA (1910).

THE meeting of the citizens of Rangoon, which was held on the 16th July, with Sir Charles Fox in the chair, wisely deferred the consideration of the form the King Edward Memorial should take. We have already a Jubilee Hall, a statue to Queen Victoria, and another to Sir Arthur Phayre. Do we still require a third statue to perpetuate the memory of the late King? At Trafalgar Square and Westminster in London and on the maidan at Calcutta, we have statues erected to great men, who have made their mark in history or literature. Of what use are these costly statues to posterity? They may recall to us the pose and lineaments of the departed great, and may make us remember—provided we are students of history—their virtues and their heroic deeds. Such an advantage, however, is scarcely commensurate with the high cost involved. Phayre's statue alone cost us about £6,000. If the sum had been put out at compound interest, by this time we could institute a scholarship or endow a bed or two in a hospital. The Burmans are generally taunted with their great desire to build pagodas. Should they not retort that the English display an equal avidity in erecting statues? Both forms of expenditure are unproductive and do not materially benefit posterity.

On the other hand, if the memorial to the late King takes the form of a University for Burma, a priceless boon will be conferred on the whole Province as well as on generations yet unborn. A University is a common platform on which people of all classes and creeds could meet, and is the best place for generating feelings of friendship and fraternity among the diverse races, which own the sway of the King-Emperor. No possible objection could be raised among the subscribers to the memorial. If they are natives of the soil, they are performing a patriotic act, in that, by helping to establish a University, they will promote the welfare and prosperity of their fellow-countrymen. If they are foreigners, whether European, Indian or Chinese, they are but repaying a debt to the country of their adoption, which has conferred upon them their wealth, comfort and prosperity. The expenditure on a University will be reproductive, not only in an economic sense, but will also help in raising the social, intellectual, and moral status of the Burmese people. Enlightened egoism always involves altruism, and by doing good to others we encompass our own welfare.

Nowadays, we are more practical than sentimental: we expect a fair return on our outlay. In commemorating our

great men, we are more inclined to institute scholarships and erect schools, colleges, dispensaries and hospitals than to raise statues and build monuments. During his life-time, the late King was much interested in the reorganization of the London University and in collecting funds for the London hospitals. In other words, he used his unique influence for the more efficient cultivation of the human mind and the amelioration of suffering. Had he been alive, there could be no doubt that he would give his unqualified approval to the present proposal. The desire to utilize the King Edward Memorial Fund for a utilitarian purpose has already been manifested in some of the Indian Provinces and cities. At Lahore, over a lakh of rupees has been subscribed and a comprehensive scheme of collecting subscriptions has been decided upon. One of the proposals under consideration is the establishment of a Technological Institute or Engineering College for the Punjab. At Benares, it has been decided to put the Prince of Wales' Hospital on a firm financial footing. Over Rs. 32,000 was promised on the spot, the principal contributors being the Maharaja of Benares Rs. 1,000, and Raja Madholal Rs. 10,000, and Motichand Rs. 5,000. Although there are few millionaires in Burma, we can rely on the proverbial generosity and liberality of the Burmese people and of the foreign merchant princes living in our midst.

If there is a hearty public response to the proposal, and if ample funds are forthcoming, the proposed university may be called the "King Edward University" in the same way as the University of Manchester is called the "Victoria University." To start our infant university in an outlying part of the Empire under the ægis of such an illustrious name will auger well for its prosperity and longevity, will keep the memory of the late King green among the people of Burma, will increase their loyalty and devotion to the person and throne of the King-Emperor, and, above all, will be pleasing to the ruling Sovereign, King George V, who is the first British ruler that has ever visited our shores. It is hoped that Sir Charles Fox, Mr. Eales, and the members of the Burma University Committee will concur in the view put forward above, and that they will be in a position to persuade their friends and the other subscribers to the Memorial Fund to agree also. A university cannot be started under ten or fifteen lakhs of rupees, and, if the above proposal is acceptable to the public of Burma, a comprehensive scheme will have to be devised, as has been recently done at Lahore, for collecting

subscriptions all over the Province. The smallest mite should be received, and all classes should be invited to contribute, so that the Burma University shall be a fitting monument raised by his loyal and devoted subjects to King Edward VII, whose solicitude for their welfare and prosperity was well-known and highly appreciated.

PĀLI EXAMINATIONS IN BURMA (1903).

UNDER the Burmese régime, competitive examinations in Pāli were held annually just before the beginning of Buddhist Lent. They consisted of two parts, *viz.*, :—(a) the written, and (b) the oral. The principal text-books prescribed were Kaccayana's Grammar, Abhidhammattha Sangaha, Abhidhānapadipikā, Chanda and Alankāra. The written portion was conducted by the officials, and the oral by the Council of Thudhamma Sadaws (Mahātheras of the Sudhamma Sabha). The lamp of classical and religious learning was thus kept burning, and a healthy spirit of emulation was maintained throughout the country.

The written portion of the examinations was revived by the British Government in 1895; and, now that a *Thathanabaing* or Buddhist Archbishop and a Council of Thudhamma Sadaws will shortly be recognised, there is a prospect of the oral portion being revived also. Under the rules framed by the Education Department, the examinations are held annually about June at Mandalay, Rangoon, Moulmein and Akyab, and are open to monks and laymen as well as to nuns and other female candidates. The travelling expenses of successful candidates for the journey from their home to the examination centres and back are paid by Government. To every successful candidate, except the one who passes highest, a certificate is given signed by the President of the Examination Committee; and to the *Patamagyaw*, or the candidate who gains the highest number of marks, is presented a certificate signed by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. To laymen, rewards, in money, are given; and to monks an option is given to choose the form of their reward.

About 400 candidates competed at the last examinations, which have become very popular through the energy and tact of Mr. J. Vansomerén Pope, M. A., Director of Public Instruction.

The efforts of the Education Department in rendering these examinations popular were nobly seconded by two religious societies at Mandalay called the Society for the Promotion of Buddhism and the Pariyattisāsanahita Society, whose objects are to disseminate a knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures throughout the Province, and to secure a body of learned monks, who are well qualified to play the rôle of instructors and spiritual guides. The latter Society has instituted a separate examination in the Vinayapitaka for monks only. A register is kept of the successful candidates; and whenever an application is made by the donor of a *kyaung* or monastery for a presiding abbot, a learned monk is always nominated by the Society. The former Society publishes a monthly newspaper in Burmese, and when a *Thathanabaing* has been recognised by the Government, it will undertake to publish his decrees and encyclicals to the Buddhist clergy. It has also established at Mandalay a school for the teaching of Burmese, Pāli and English. It is hoped that this school will, in time, be able to present candidates for the Pāli Patamabyan Examinations held by the Education Department.

The Buddhist community of Burma is under a deep obligation to Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., late Lieutenant-Governor, for his kindly sympathy shown towards Buddhism, for reviving the Pāli examinations, and for recommending the recognition of a Buddhist Archbishop for Upper Burma.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SHIKO (1903).

THE word "shiko" means to salute respectfully a person or object, who or which is capable of conferring a spiritual or material benefit, and was originally used in connection with the well-known Buddhist formula of profession of faith: "Buddham saranam gacchāmi; Dhammam saranam gacchāmi; Sangham saranam gacchāmi;"—"I seek refuge in the Buddha; I seek refuge in the Law; I seek refuge in the Church." These "Three Gems," viz., the Buddha, the Law, and the Church, deserve the *pāja* or "shiko" of the faithful. That is to say, they must perform *añjalikamma*, or clasp their hands in the form of a lotus-bud and raise them to their forehead, and remain in an attitude of prayer. Besides these "Three Gems," there are three persons deserving of respectful salutation: a parent, teacher and king. A child's obligation to its parent is boundless; and a teacher stands next to a parent in the matter of

bringing up a child, and giving it a spiritual and intellectual training. The Burmese King stood upon a different footing. He was the Ruler of the land, and as soon as he had taken the coronation oath, he *ipso facto* deserved to be "shikoed." That oath enjoined upon him that he must rule his kingdom in accordance with its laws, and with the religious precepts incumbent upon a king; in other words, he must, to the best of his ability, promote the welfare and prosperity of his subjects, and abstain from tyranny and oppression. Further, in theory at least, if not in reality, he was a member of the Sakya clan, to which Gautama Buddha belonged, and he was an embryo Buddha because of his regal position. The members of the Royal Family, and the Ministers and Officials of the King exacted the "shiko" form of respect, as they were the relatives or representatives of the Supreme Ruler.

In India, "shikoing" is resorted to as a mode of salutation among equals, as well as by inferiors to superiors. In Burma, however, only inferiors "shiko" their superiors, and the compliment is never returned by the latter. The highest form of "shiko" is that offered to the "Three Gems" and is called "Pañcapatitthita." It consists in the devotee squatting on the ground with unshod feet, with his clasped hands touching his forehead, and with his elbows touching his knees at the same time. The higher Burmese officials were saluted with the clasped hands raised breast high, and the lower with clasped hands placed at the level of the waist. At an audience of the Burmese King the Ministers crawled on the floor, with their hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, and with their elbows supporting the weight of their body.

In the recent South African war, whenever the Boers surrendered themselves they cast down their weapons and raised their arms over their heads. In the Burmese Kings' time when dacoits or rebels gave themselves up, they threw down their weapons, squatted on the ground, and clasped their hands at their forehead. At the present time, in the jails of this Province, when a visitor goes round the prisoners assume a similar attitude. Now all these acts and postures on the part of the Burmese dacoits, rebels, or prisoners, connote, primarily, submission and acceptance of peace, and, secondarily, exaltation of the person "shikoed." The origin of national customs may be traced to primitive society, when there was a perpetual state of war necessitating a high development of the instinct of self-preservation, and an effective system of differentiating between friend and foe. The conqueror was always

exalted, honoured, respected and feared. When the State was held together by martial prowess alone, the warrior-caste was in the ascendant. In course of time, however, communities arose on the *débris* of warring clans. They began to acquire peaceful occupation, and to be devoted to agriculture, weaving, and other arts of peace. It was only then that brains dominated muscle and sinew, and that the warrior caste succumbed to the superior intelligence and culture of the priests. Gradually, the priestly caste arrogated to themselves and their tutelary gods the marks of respect, hitherto shown only to kings and warriors.

The question arises as to whether the schoolmasters of Anglo-Vernacular schools, in their capacity as teachers or *ācariya*, deserve to be "shikoeed" by their pupils. The Burmans say that they are not the true "*ācariya*," and, therefore, do not deserve this form of salutation. A true "*ācariya*" looks after the spiritual, moral, and intellectual welfare of his pupils; whereas a teacher in an Anglo-Vernacular school concerns himself only with their intellectual training.

The Education Department has put forward an alternative form of salutation which consists in keeping the arms down and crossing the open palms, the right over the back of the left. Some of the Burmese parents say that they have no objection to this form, which is meaningless to them; but they add that they have no name for this mode of salutation, that it is not in accordance with their national custom, and that the Department is not justified in evolving out of its inner consciousness a brand-new form of showing respect to teachers.

THE SALUTATION QUESTION.

At 8 a.m. yesterday, a crowded meeting was held in the Victoria Hall in Sule Pagoda Road to discuss the form of salutation which should be adopted in schools. There were about four hundred people present, some of whom were Burmese ladies. Mr. Taw Sein Ko was elected to the chair and on the platform to support him were the following gentlemen: U Shwe Waing, U Ohn Ghine, C.I.E., U Po Han, U Po Lan, Messrs. Tan Po Chong and Khoo Min Gyaw, U Po Sin, U Po Ka, U Ba Pe, Saya Sin, U Tun Tin, Saya Pyaw, U Ba Hlaing and U Pe.

The Chairman explained the object of the meeting and invited opinions on the several forms of salutation to be adopted in schools.

Before any discussion took place, U Po Han wished to enter an emphatic disclaimer repudiating the charge of incitement to insubordination which had been preferred in some quarters against the deputation consisting of U Po Lan, U Shwe Waing, U Ohn Ghine, U Po Myaing, U Ta Po and himself, that recently waited upon the Director of Public Instruction. He declared that the object of their intervention was to secure order and discipline in the Rangoon Collegiate School.

U Maung Gyi said that he disagreed with both forms, namely, saluting with clasped hands breast high and with crossed open palms with the hands stretched down. He added that there was a religious element involved in both forms. He would ask the meeting to secure the reinstatement of the VIIIth Standard boys who had been expelled from the Collegiate School for non-compliance with orders. He observed that the boys kept away from school not because of intimidation by bigger boys, but because they were forbidden by their parents to attend school.

U Ba Hlaing then proposed that the parents would be glad if the order of expulsion passed on certain boys of the Eighth Standard of the Rangoon Collegiate School on the 12th September could be cancelled. In their refusing to obey the Inspector's orders they did not know what to do. They were ordered either to clasp their hands or to fold their open palms. The first form of salutation their parents are unwilling that they should adopt, and the second is an innovation which they had neither seen nor heard of. As a matter of fact, there is no Burmese name for the latter form of salutation. The proposal was seconded by U Po Chet and carried unanimously.

The next resolution proposed by Saya Pyaw and seconded by U Po Min was carried unanimously. It was that parents feel that sufficient respect and courtesy will be shown by their sons if they stand up in the class room on the entry of the Head-master, class teachers, or an officer of the Education Department. They have no objection to their sons bowing their heads slightly when they meet their masters outside.

The next resolution was that the issue of the circular during the course of the academical year introducing an innovation is unfair and inequitable; such an innovation would only be justified after due notice and at the beginning of the academical year, for parents could then, if they disapproved of "shikoing," withdraw their children and place them in schools where "shikoing" is entirely absent. It was proposed by

U Po Sin and seconded by U Aung Hmyin and was carried unanimously.

Saya Sin then proposed that the points at issue be referred to the Educational Syndicate for opinion. This found no seconder and was withdrawn. The meeting felt that a reference to the Educational Syndicate would only prolong the settlement of the matter as that body had no *locus standi*, and as the Director of Public Instruction had already agreed in his second circular to leave to the decision of parents the form of salutation to be adopted.

U Po Sin declared that there was no intimidation on the part of the bigger boys. The parents, of their own accord, did not send their sons to school. All the boys got permission from their teachers to consult their parents regarding the form of salutation to be adopted.

Some strong feeling was expressed in connection with this statement. Certain of the parents said that the Head Master was not justified in preferring any accusation against the bigger boys. The younger boys absented themselves from school with the express permission of their parents, who desired to await the settlement of the 'shiko' question. On the whole, there was a strong unanimity on the part of the meeting that the boys should not 'shiko' or even cross their palms as a form of salutation. The meeting then dispersed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

Before the meeting broke up, it was decided to appoint a deputation of the representatives of the parents to wait upon Mr. Wales, Head Master of the Rangoon Collegiate School, and hand over to him the four resolutions which had just been passed. Accordingly, about a hundred parents, including the members of the first deputation went to the School. They were cordially received by Mr. Wales, who thanked them for their kind co-operation and spoke of the services of the original deputation; which were fully known to him and not to the parents. Mr. Taw Sein Ko made over the resolutions with the request that they might be submitted to the Director of Public Instruction for favourable consideration and orders. Until such orders were passed and communicated to the parents by the Head Master, it was deemed advisable that the boys should be kept away from school. There was another matter which the deputation would like to bring forward. They have a great objection to the entertainment of lady teachers in the Rangoon

Collegiate School, which is an institution for boys only. Mr. Wales promised to submit these matters to the Director, and expressed a hope to receive definite orders in a few days, when he would communicate the sense of the orders to the parents severally. After expressing the hope that no cause would arise in future that would justify a similar agitation, and thanking the Head Master for his kindly sympathy and forbearance in listening to their representations, the deputation withdrew.

OLD RANGOON COLLEGIANS' ANNUAL DINNER.

THE second annual dinner of the Old Rangoon Collegians was held on the 20th January 1912 at the College and, as expected, was a greater success than last year's fixture. The large gymnasium shed, afforded excellent accommodation and was tastefully decorated with palms, wreaths and lanterns. Covers were laid for ninety. The Principal and staff of the College were invited as was also Mr. A. C. J. Baldwin, the new Principal of the Government High School and others. The dinner committee was composed of Messrs. U Thein Kin, G. B. Smart, N. N. Burjorjee, U Kin, U May Oung, Ko Ba, Ko Po Han, Ko Set and Ko Ba Dun (honorary Secretary). There was a large number of old students from the districts, including Captain Ba Ket, U Kyaw Min, Ko Tha Bwin, Ko Ba On, Ko Ba Cho and others. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, occupied the chair. All present spent a most happy evening, renewing old acquaintances, making new ones, recalling old memories and exchanging experiences and views.

In proposing the Royal Toast, the Chairman referred to the recent visit of their Imperial Majesties. He then proposed "Prosperity to the Rangoon College," coupling it with the name of Mr. Hunter. He said that it was usual for men to come together in order to promote a common object. Their object that evening was to renew old friendships and to make new ones, the bond of union amongst them being the fact of their having been educated at the same institution. The Government High School blossomed into the Rangoon College in 1879 under the fostering care of the late Sir Charles Bernard, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and Sir John Jardine, Judicial Commissioner and the first President of the Educational Syndicate. The first candidate who appeared for the F. A. examination in 1880 was Maung Tun Nyein, the

learned Translator to Government; the first graduate was Maung Tu, who had recently retired from the educational service; and the first M. A. was the late John Saw W. White. The College being the oldest institution of its kind in the Province, its *alumni* were the pioneers in the services under Government, in business and in the learned professions, and it appeared to be expedient that an *esprit de corps* should be maintained amongst them, and that they should be inspired by high ideals of truth, honour and honesty, so that the term "an Old Rangoon Collegian" would be synonymous with an upright gentleman and a good citizen. (Applause). Mr. Taw Sein Ko then stated his reminiscences of his own college days and described his experiences under Mr. A. R. Hayes, Dr. R. Romanis and Dr. E. Forchhammer. The last named, in particular, inspired him with a literary ambition. Dr. Forchhammer used to say that the worship of Minerva was infinitely better than the worship of Mammon and to keep alight the lamp of learning in our age of materialism was an act of high altruism. Like many others, his first ambition was to become a Myoök, but it was Dr. Forchhammer who turned him from it. But it must be admitted that they must work for a livelihood, and that the country must be governed, and, after all, Myoökships furnished them with an honourable career. It was pleasant to stir up the memories of the past and to afford to the younger generations of students the ideals, motives and aspirations which had actuated them and which had enabled them to achieve their present positions. Their example and experience would serve as beacon lights. The toast was received with prolonged cheers and with the singing of "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Mr. Hunter, Principal of the College, replied in an interesting speech. He said he was very pleased to see the old familiar faces and especially the Chairman, who was one of the oldest and had a marked success in life. He himself could not go back to the beginning of the College, but he could go back above twenty years and he well remembered the time when he arrived in Burma to join the staff of the College, which had twenty-five students. (Laughter.) Since then the College had attained great proportions until, at the present day, the numbers were near three hundred. They had prospects of obtaining even better buildings than the present ones and he confidently hoped that ere long the Rangoon College would be architecturally a credit to Rangoon. He recalled the names of many of his old pupils and was particularly pleased that, at least three of them, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Maung Thein Kin, and

Maung We Lin had been the recipients of Durbar honours. In concluding, he said that it was the prevailing fashion for older people to decry the manners of the younger generations. This was a common lament among all nations. But he disagreed from those who said that the younger generations of Burmans were disrespectful and unmannerly. Change there was and must be, but he did not think that the change was for the worse. He thanked all for the enthusiastic reception which they had given to the toast.

Mr. A D. Keith (who is to officiate for Mr. Hunter when the latter goes on leave next month) then proposed "The Old Collegians." He said that, in point of standing, he was only three years old, though all would agree that he was a well-nourished baby, and he knew very few old Collegians. But, as Shakespeare ought to have said, if he did not say it, some are born talkers, others achieved talking, while others had talking thrust on them, and he felt, therefore, obliged to say something. There was also the added difficulty that there was something sad in the toast which he had to propose. An "Old" Collegian was no longer young, and that alone was a very sad thing, though of course, there were many advantages in being an Old Collegian. For instance, they could look down on those at College and see how childish they were, there were no more examinations, percentage of attendances and other such worries. Referring to the lament of old people, he said it was only human nature that a young man at twenty thinks that he knows all about everything, the man at forty is doubtful as to the extent of his knowledge, and the man at sixty is perfectly sure that he knows nothing about everything. Such a gathering as that would be a credit to any college in the world. He would ask them to remember that the future of Burma was greatly in the hands of the College and its students, past, present and future, and he, therefore, suggested that a permanent association of Old Rangoon Collegians be formed with a club house in Rangoon.

U Kin, responding, said that all Old Collegians entertained love and respect for the College and their *sayas*. It was through the excellent guidance of the professors that old students had distinguished themselves in after life. He was glad to see that there was now-a-days not so much hankering after Myoök-ships and he was especially pleased to see young Burmans taking to journalism. The speaker made special mention of the *Sun* newspaper, which had already done so much good and which was managed by Old Collegians. The Y. M. B. A.,

movement also; which had spread itself over the Province was the work of Old Collegians. In the matter of present day changes, they had Omar Khayam's words: "The moving finger writes and having writ moves on, etc."

The next toast was "Our Guests," proposed by U Shwe Zan Aung, who dwelt on the high service rendered to Burma by the Professors of the College. He hoped that a university would be founded as soon as possible and that Burma would receive a substantial share of the education grant announced by his Imperial Majesty at the late Durbar. The College, under the management of earnest and sympathetic Professors, had done much to elevate the ideals of young Burmans, and he was very pleased to see that the relations between the teacher and the taught were most cordial.

Dr. G. R. T. Ross replied and said that the banquet recalled to his mind his own college days. When he set out for the East he was told that he was going into exile, but the function like the one which he was now taking part in made him feel that he was at home. He found that social relations between West and East were more possible in Burma than in many other Eastern countries, and, on behalf of the guests, he thanked the Old Collegians for their hospitality.

In proposing the toast of the Chairman, U May Oung said that, if there was any one feature which more than any other distinguished that night's happy gathering, it was the welcome presence of their esteemed chairman. In that large collection of Old Collegians, Mr. Taw Sein Ko was the most antique of the lot (laughter), and it was singularly appropriate that he was by profession an antiquarian. (Laughter). The speaker would not do him the injustice of calling him a thorough-paced antiquarian, because, as he had heard, a thorough-paced antiquarian not only remembered what all other people have thought it proper to forget, but he also forgot, what all other people think it proper to remember (Laughter). He was not quite sure what that meant (laughter), but he would have them remember that their Chairman did not specialise merely in the doings of a remote past, but he had also been known to look far into the future (Applause). For instance, many many years ago, he had anticipated one result of the present Revolution in China (Loud laughter). Besides that, their Chairman was in himself a well preserved ancient monument (laughter), a veritable tower of strength standing for all that was best in the sphere of education. Mr. Taw Sein Ko's services to the cause

of education in Burma were not to be measured by the actual work which he had performed in many capacities, for, in him, they had the rare example of a scientific scholar whom they might all imitate with profit. The speaker was afraid that education in this country was too often looked upon from the stand-point of bread and butter, and that deplorable view was greatly encouraged by the fact that their college education was until lately far too largely of a literary nature. The student's whole mind was given to books and he imagined that all knowledge could be got out of them. In Burma, they had not yet had that higher scientific training which was of supreme importance at the present day and which it was necessary for every one to have, if only to develop habits of observation and reasoning. As far back as 1876, there had been established in Calcutta the Indian Association for the cultivation of Science, and only twelve years later the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal expressed his belief that it was the "most potent regenerating institution" in the country. The Old Rangoon Collegians' Association, if established, could carry out no better project than that of promoting scientific education in Burma. There was one branch of that education, the practical utility of which did not seem very obvious at first sight, but which in its own way was quite as important as those which turned out engineers, doctors and manufacturers. He referred to ethnology in its widest sense, embracing the study of the prehistoric man and his handiwork, the study of the origin, development and distribution of arts and industries, the study of social phenomena and organisation, the comparative study of languages and so on. With most of these their Chairman was intimately concerned, and the high value of his contributions to scientific literature in Burma was acknowledged by all who have read them (Applause). He was sure that they all congratulated Mr. Taw Sein Ko on the honour which had recently been conferred on him, and he asked them to unite in wishing him many more years of health and success. The toast was heartily received.

After the Chairman had replied briefly, Dr. Aung Tun proposed the "Committee." He thanked them for the excellent arrangements they had made and suggested that the Club, when formed, might arrange such dinners every month. Ko Ba Dun replying, said that he and his colleagues were amply repaid for their labour by the sight of the many happy faces around them.

An anyein pwè followed.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY (1904).

IN order to render any reforms beneficial and enduring, it is essential that they should be engrafted on the existing order of things, and should not be of the nature of an exotic excrescence. Above all, it is imperative that the stages of transition from the prevailing system should be gradual and natural, and should be approved by public opinion. The educational policy of the Government of India as set forth in the recent Resolution appears to satisfy these conditions, and to promise the best results in the future. It is based on Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch of 1854, whose principles were reaffirmed in 1859, when the administration was transferred to the Crown, and also on the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882-83, of which the late Sir William Hunter was President. After an experience of fifty years, the prevailing system of education, whose gross annual cost exceeds 400 lakhs, is admitted to have shortcomings both in quantity and quality. Four villages out of five are not provided with a school; three boys out of four grow up without education and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school. These figures show clearly that education has not permeated to the masses, and that the stupendous mass of ignorance has not been very perceptibly reduced since the days of the East India Company. As regards quality, the main charges brought against the present system are as follows: That higher education is pursued with too exclusive a view to entering Government service; that those who fail to obtain employment under Government are ill fitted for other pursuits; that excessive prominence is given to examinations; that the courses of study are too purely literary in character; that undue prominence is attached to the training of the memory at the expense of intelligence; that the cultivation of the vernaculars is neglected in the pursuit of English education. To meet the first charge it has been proposed to institute separate examinations for the public service under the control of a special board organised on the model of the English Civil Service Commission. This proposal has not been adopted, because it is the duty of the Government of India to reconcile the conflicting claims of diverse races, rival religions, and varying degrees of intellectual and administrative aptitude and adaptability, and because the institution of such examinations would cause a certain amount of hardship to the communities which have lagged behind in the intellectual race. The needed remedy will, however, be applied by opening more avenues of livelihood

through the provision of technical, industrial, commercial, and agricultural education, and through relieving the pressure hitherto exercised on University education alone. Examinations, or rather recurring mechanical tests, have been the bane of the system. From the moment that a pupil crosses the threshold of a school, the value of examinations, the obligation of preparing or cramming for them, and the necessity of passing them to ensure success in life, are continually dinned into his ears. He has no leisure for general reading, or, indeed, to digest and assimilate what he has learnt. His teachers do not teach him intelligently or train his intelligence; they supply him with "notes," which, if committed to memory, would enable him to pass his examinations. The majority of students never read their text-books, as they place great reliance on the "notes" of their teachers or professors. The result has been most disastrous. Parrot-like automata have been produced, instead of intelligent, rational human beings. This state of things is to be swept away, and the Education Codes of the various Provinces are to be revised so as to embody various reforms. Preceding the University course, there will be only two examinations at the completion of the Primary and Secondary stages of instruction, corresponding to the Provincial Fourth and Seventh Standards. The examinations will no longer be public, but will be conducted by inspecting officers; and, in both examinations, special provision will be made for the award of scholarships. The prevailing system of grants-in-aid will be replaced by more equitable tests of efficiency, "depending on the number of scholars in attendance, the buildings provided for their accommodation, the circumstances of the locality, the qualifications of the teachers, the nature of the instruction given, and the outlay from other sources such as fees and private endowments or subscriptions."

The Resolution defines primary education as the "instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate intelligence and fit them for their position in life," and quotes, with approval, the observation of Lord Lawrence, made in 1868, that "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." The duty of the State towards primary education was laid down in 1854 and 1883, and it is now emphasized by declaring that primary education should have a predominant claim upon the educational expenditure of

District and Municipal Boards, and that the Education Department shall have a voice in fixing the limit of such expenditure. The course of instruction in primary schools should consist of reading and writing (in the vernacular) and arithmetic, and kindergarten should be taught as far as may be practicable. Rural primary schools should also be established for the education of the children of the agricultural classes. As far as this Province is concerned, thanks to the monastic system, primary education is very widely diffused, and the reproach that is cast on the rest of the Indian Empire does not apply to Burma. Owing to the peculiar conditions of India, secondary education has received the greatest stimulus. During the last twenty years, the number of secondary schools rose from 3,916 to 5,493, and that of their pupils from 214,077 to 558,378. Now that the University Entrance examination will no longer be accepted as a qualifying test for Government service, and that a school final examination will be held at the conclusion of the secondary course, it is essential that certain conditions should be attached to the recognition of secondary schools. Only "recognised" schools will be permitted to present candidates for the University examinations, be eligible to receive grants-in-aid, and to send up pupils to compete for, or receive pupils in enjoyment of, Government scholarships.

It has often been remarked that purely secular education, as imparted in Government schools, stimulates tendencies unfavourable to discipline, and encourages the growth of a spirit of irreverence in the rising generation. Hitherto an antidote has been sought in the teaching of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics. The true remedy, however, lies in the "influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institution of well managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books such as biographies, which teach by example, and, above all, in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life." Rules have been framed regulating the migration of pupils from school to school, and prescribing the maintenance of a "conduct register." The Resolution does not favour an unduly wide diffusion of a knowledge of the English language. That language should find no place, it says, in the scheme of primary education. As a rule, a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he has received a thorough grounding in his own mother-tongue, and the line of division between the use of the vernacular and

of English as a medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of thirteen. Educationalists in this Province are divided in opinion on this subject. Some would teach English from the very outset, while others would postpone it to a later period. But all must agree in the advisability of restricting children to the mastery of the intricacies of one language only at the beginning and of guiding them later on, when their understanding is somewhat mature, to the study of a second language.

In order to provide diversified types of education demanded by the circumstances of modern life, the Government of India have instituted scholarships to be awarded to selected students to enable them to pursue a course of technical education in Europe or America, the object in view being the development of Indian industries, and especially of those in which native capital may be invested. Recently the Educational Syndicate, on being consulted by the Local Government, proposed that a scholarship be granted to a selected student to study, in Europe or America, analytical chemistry with reference to the oil-refining industry. On the advice of the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce and the Burma Oil Company, the Local Government did not see its way to adopt the proposal. We earnestly hope that the matter will not remain in abeyance. Now that Lancashire is being interested in the cotton trade of Burma, a Burmese student might be sent to America to study cotton-growing. It would be profitable if he were to study tobacco-growing, too. Two welcome innovations will be introduced, the Resolution promises us: the institution of commercial examinations and the establishment of an agricultural college at Pusa in Bengal. Most of the alumni of the Indian Universities could not enter Government service as clerks, *tahsildars*, *munisifs* etc., and it is expedient that some other career should be provided for them. The Government of India also desire the establishment of schools for the training of teachers for primary schools, and of colleges for the training of teachers for secondary schools. In the latter class of institutions, the course will be a University one, culminating in a University degree.

The remaining matters dealt with in the Resolution are not of local interest; but those, which have been touched upon above, plainly show that the document is a revolutionary one. Even if all the other reforms introduced by Lord Curzon are forgotten in course of time, the Educational Resolution, if conscientiously acted on, will be remembered by the Indian

populations as a monument to his genius, ability, and foresight.

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD ON THE 13TH AUGUST 1911, IN THE
THATHANABAING MONASTERY TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION
OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN MONASTIC SCHOOLS.

PRESENT.

His Reverence the Thathanabaing, Makutayama Sadaw, Pagan Sadaw, Sangyaung Sadaw, Seinban Sadaw, Detkinawun Sadaw, Ngwedaung Sadaw, Atumashi Sadaw, Thetpan Sadaw, Mingun Sadaw, Sale Sadaw, Neikthaya Taikók Sadaw, Tabayin Taikók Sadaw, Taunggyin Taikók Sadaw, Taunggyin Taikkyat Sadaw, Shweyezaung Taikók Sadaw, Kyaukpadaung Sadaw, and Kinmagan Sadaw.

There were also present five *Pônggyis*, who are Managers of aided Monastic schools in Mandalay Town :

U Seiktaya, Sangyaung Taik ; U Thudatthana, Bônggyaw Taik ; U Wimala, Paunglè Taik ; U Neikphanna, Myenigôn, Taik ; and U Thiha, Shweyezaung Taik.

There were also present five *Pônggyis* who are Managers of unaided Monastic schools in Amarapura :

U Nyaneinda, Kyaw-aungsada Taik ; U Thuzaata, Mingala Taik ; U Kethaya, U Ogantha, and U Zagaya, Kugyi Taik.

The following representatives of the Education Department were present :

Maung Kyaw, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Mandalay Town ; Maung Ba Din, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Mandalay District ; and Maung Kyaw, Sub-Inspector of Schools, Mandalay District.

The following Burmese gentlemen were also present :

U Pein and U Po Nu, Subdivisional Officers ; U Ba, Judge of Small Cause Court ; U Thin, A.T.M. Subdivisional Officer, Madaya ; U Kyaw Yan, A.T.M., U Pe, U Nyun, Maung Maung Gale, Honorary Magistrates ; and U Ba, Income Tax Assessor.

Colonel W. A. W. Strickland, Commissioner, Mandalay Division, attended the meeting accompanied by Mr. C. C. T. Chapman, Deputy Commissioner, Mandalay, and Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.

1. Colonel Strickland explained to the meeting the objects of the Government of India and the Local Government in furthering the cause of primary education as embodied in the

Government of Burma's letter No. 1675M-6E-90, dated the 7th August 1911, and its enclosure. He added that well-to-do people could afford to educate their own children, but that the children of the poorer classes must be looked after by Government. From his own experience, he found that the men and women in the villages do not know their own language well. Burmans who are now between 40 and 45 years of age, and who passed through the Monastic schools, do not understand the contents of a Burmese newspaper or of agricultural leaflets issued by the Agricultural Department, and are much handicapped in their transactions with money-lenders, while the women are ignorant of the simple rules of health or sanitation, and are incapable of bringing up healthy children. The Burmese clerks attached to the Township Courts present quite a contrast. They have passed the examination of the VIth or VIIth Standard, and have, through their superior education, acquired business methods and habits. It is essential that the educational standard of the ordinary villagers should be brought up to that of these clerks, and, with this end in view, it is necessary to have a beginning made by teaching the "Three R's" in Monastic schools. In order to afford relief to the presiding *pōngyis*, the Local Government proposes to appoint assistant teachers to these schools. Would the *Thathanabaing* and his *Sadaws* have any objection to such a measure?

2. The *Thathanabaing* said that the whole question had been considered once before. In May 1909, he addressed the Director of Public Instruction on the subject, and produced a copy of his letter (letter and translation appended to the Minutes). He was rather in favour of adhering to the indigenous and traditional curriculum of studies; but if any *pōngyi* chose to accept registration at the hands of the Education Department, he was not prepared to interdict it. He was always prepared to render assistance to that Department, provided that such assistance did not clash with the precepts of the *Wini*. Personally, he thought that the wishes of the Local Government would be attained, to a great extent, if there was an age-limit prescribed for the candidates for the Patamabyan Pāli examination. He would restrict their ages between 13 and 20 years.

3. U Seiktaya of Sangyaung Taik, the Manager of a registered Monastic school, was invited to give his opinion. He said that his school had been registered for 12 years, and that he had 30 pupils. At first, he taught according to the indigenous curriculum. He found that the pupils of the Monastic

schools were much handicapped in life, when compared even with girls educated in lay schools; so he determined to teach secular subjects in his school and to accept registration.

4. U Nyaneinda of Kyaw-aungsanda Taik, the Manager of an unregistered Monastic school, was then asked for his opinion. He said he had about 10 pupils. Sometimes this number was reduced to 5 or 3. Speaking for himself only, he would never accept the services of an assistant teacher, who would rather be in his way. He had a great objection to such secular subjects as geography and object-lessons, and he would rather adhere to the indigenous curriculum, which includes the *Mingalathōk* and similar text-books in Pali.

5. The *Thathanabaing* said that all *pōngyis* are bound to observe the precepts of *Wini*. If *pōngyis* have any doubts as to the interpretation of any of these precepts he would not be in a position to force his own interpretation upon them. Whether the acceptance of an assistant teacher in a Monastic school is in accordance with the *Wini* depends upon the intention or motive of the presiding abbot. If an assistant teacher is received not for pecuniary gain, nor for a wordly reputation, but for the avowed purpose of teaching pupils how to escape from the miseries of existence, then such a motive would be a laudable one and would be in conformity with the *Wini*.

6. U Ba (Small Cause Court Judge) said that it seems to him that the entire difficulty consisted of the unsuitability of the present text-books for Monastic schools. He would propose that a separate set be compiled by *pōngyis* for the use of their own schools.

7. The Kyaukpadaung *Sadaw* was of opinion that there ought to be a division of labour in the teaching of religious and secular subjects, and that separate schools should be maintained for the purpose. He doubted whether the arithmetic now taught in lay schools would be in accordance with *Wini*.

8. U Kyaw Yan said that a certain amount of prestige was attached to the measures of Government, and that if assistant teachers were offered, they would be accepted by the majority of the *Kyaungs*.

9. U Thin observed that there were very few pupils in *Kyaungs*, which confined themselves to religious subjects, and that the boys, who passed through such monasteries, had very poor prospects in life.

10. The Kyaukpadaung *Sadaw* was of opinion that liberty of action should be permitted to the *pōngyis*. In 1887, when they were requested by Mr. Pope, Director of Public Instruction, to receive assistant teachers, a compact was drawn up, under the auspices of the late *Thathanabaing* Taungdaw *Sadaw*, and the late Pagan *Sadaw*, refusing the services of such teachers.

11. U Kyaw Yan was aware of the compact referred to. A Monk called the *Beik Pōngyi* received an assistant teacher. His *Kyaung* was stoned, and he himself was excommunicated. But, after the expiry of 25 years, a new condition of things has been created.

12. After some desultory conversation, in which both monks and laymen took part, Colonel Strickland closed the meeting. After thanking the *Thathanabaing* and his learned *Sadaws*, he said that no nation could become great without a proper system of education. It was through education that Japan became great after a training of 25 years. Her sudden rise is quite unprecedented in history. He desired the Burmans to emulate the Japanese in making a sound system of secular education the basis of their progress. Government could, no doubt, build a number of additional lay schools to teach purely secular subjects; but it is expedient to utilize the existing machinery of monastic schools and to make a happy combination of the teaching of religious and secular subjects under the control and supervision of the monks, who are the traditional teachers of the Burmese people and who have brought Burma to such a high standard of literacy.

13. The consensus of opinion elicited at the meeting was, that a separate and distinct agency was required to deal with monastic schools in a tactful and sympathetic manner, that there would be no objection on the part of the *Thathanabaing* or of the *Sadaws* to the registration of monastic schools, and that efforts should be made to register such schools individually and gradually.

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM THE THATHANABAING TO THE
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION DATED THE 1ST MAY 1909.

1. As desired by the Local Government, I am anxious to render assistance to the Education Department.

2. I am endeavouring to promote the extension of the sphere of usefulness of the Department and to bring it in harmony with the Buddhist monks.

3. My object is to establish a reciprocity of interest between the Education Department and the Buddhist Church.

4. I have examined the Education Code, and find that its object is to promote learning and to advance the prosperity of the country.

5. In order to render assistance to the Department, I have consulted my Council of *Sadaws*, and our views are as follows :

(a) *Para 1.* The grant of money to monks is contrary to the rules of their Order ; but in the time of the Burmese King, it was customary to give some form of support to titled *Sadaws* and lecturers.

(b) The words " results grants " and " salary " as applied to monks are unsuitable, because they are forbidden to work for their livelihood like the teachers of a lay school.

(c) *PARA 14.* This is quite unsuitable for monks.

(d) *PARA 7, 13 and 15.* Some are suitable for monks, while others are not. The suitable subjects may be studied by monks. At the same time I would not forbid the monks to continue their study of the unsuitable subjects. On the other hand, it is my earnest desire to render more effective assistance to the Department in its dealings with monastic schools.

6. It would be of great advantage if the Education Code could embrace as much of the indigenous curriculum as possible because that curriculum, harmonises with the tenets of Buddhism.

7. The following subjects in the Education Code are objectionable :

(a) *Drawing* (page 109, paragraph 13). The portion suitable to monks should be retained, while the unsuitable portion should be omitted.

(b) *Map-drawing* (page 109, paragraph 14) should be omitted as it is contrary to the tenets of Buddhism.

(c) *Kindergarten.* Quite unsuitable.

(d) *Results-grants.* Silver and gold are unsuitable. If a monk earns his living by teaching, the receipt of even a suitable present is forbidden. If a monk adopts the teaching profession to acquire a worldly reputation—this is sinful.

- (c) *Burmese Grammar*. The "eight cases," "Man is in the neuter gender" etc. are hardly consonant with the principles laid down in Sanskrit and Pali Grammars.

8. Doubts have been expressed as to the propriety of maintaining pupils. In the time of King Bodawpaya, *i. e.* about a hundred years ago, the maintenance of pupils was forbidden.

9. The rules issued by the Shwegyin sect for the guidance of their pupils are not approved by us.

10. Special rules should be framed for the guidance of Monastic schools, and the indigenous curriculum should be adopted with such modifications as are necessitated by circumstances. In other words, only such subjects should be taught as are consistent with the tenets of Buddhism.

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND CRIME (1903.)

THE close interdependence between education, occupation and crime is apt to be lost sight of by statesmen and administrators. In the long run, it is much more humane and economical to spend more money in educating the people and providing them with reproductive occupation than in locking them up in jails like so many beasts of prey. Education prepares a man for the struggle for existence and enables him to take his proper place in society, and a cheerful and congenial occupation keeps his faculties employed, prevents him from doing mischief to himself or others, and restrains him from drifting into crime. The proverb that "The devil finds mischief still for idle hands to do" is as true to-day as it was when first enunciated; and Tennyson but reiterates this old world sentiment when he says: "Absence of occupation is not rest; A mind quite vacant is a mind distressed." In recent times, Zola constituted himself the apostle of the gospel of work in order to emphasise the requirements of the present age. A purely literary education, which is apt to foster a contempt for manual labour, is, however, not suitable for all sorts and conditions of men, because a good number of them, like the citizens of the United States, have to leave school when comparatively young and seek their livelihood, and because literary education, at an early stage, is not a reproductive asset. It is, therefore, clear that it is technical, rather than literary education, that requires to be encouraged and developed in Burma in order to enable the Burmans to take their proper place in

the comity of nations. It is through the development of technical education and the expansion of commerce that the Americans, Germans, and Japanese are what they are to-day, and it is to follow in the wake of these nations, that the Indian National Congress are arranging for an Industrial Exhibition to be held next month at Madras.

According to the last Census, the population of Burma was 10,490,624, of whom 5,342,033 were males and 5,148,591 females. The literates per thousand were 215, of whom 193 were males and 22 females. In other words, one individual in every five persons was able to read and write. Although these figures indicate a fair standard of intelligence, and compare favourably with those of the other Indian Provinces, and even with some of the countries of Europe, it must be admitted that mere ability to read and write does not constitute education in its highest sense. In this connection, Mr. Lewis says (page 65 of his Report): "Still, as they stand . . . the figures speak volumes for the general diffusion of the elements of culture through the length and breadth of the province. The superiority of Upper over Lower Burma in the matter of literacy is a theme on which both Mr. Copleston and Mr. Eales have had something to the point to say, and it is only right that the Upper Burman *póngyi* should have received his meed of praise for his share in the labour of the past." As regards female literacy, the palm must be accorded to the Christian population. For the Buddhist 44 literate females per thousand, the Christians are able to exhibit a proportion of 243, the actual figure being 16,732; and Mr. Lewis continues (page 65, *ibid*):—"These returns show how large a share in the high figure for female literacy is to be ascribed to the Christian population and bear indirect testimony to the important part played by the Missionary bodies in the work of education of the Province."

Of the total population of Burma, 90.6 per cent is rural, and 9.4 per cent. urban. These figures account for 67 per cent. of the total population being agricultural. The manual occupations enumerated in the Census Report are few in number, namely, weaving, carving, metal work, pottery, carpentry, and cane-work; and this paucity in the variety of handicrafts shows that the pressure of the population upon the soil is not yet great.

According to the last Report on Public Instruction in Burma, the total expenditure on Technical education was Rs. 45,604

against Rs. 72,520 last year. The Government School of Engineering and the Apprentice School, Insein, received Rs. 12,251, from Public, and Rs. 1,411, from Private funds; Industrial education received Rs. 510 from Public funds; and Commercial education received Rs. 148 from Private funds. The Reformatory School at Insein appears to have been successful in the matter of industrial training. Forty-nine pupils were presented, and all passed; 27 in tin work, 16 in carpentry and 6 in cane work. Among the technical subjects prescribed in the Education Code are the following: printing, lithography, book-binding, tailoring, needle-work, boot and shoe-making, carpentry, blacksmith's work, tinsmith's work, electroplating, watch-making, cane and bamboo-work, weaving, lace-making and moulding. Of these, there is no demand apparently for tailoring, boot and shoe-making, weaving in industrial schools. Judging, however, by the enormous quantities of boots and shoes and wearing apparel imported from foreign countries, these handicrafts, if taught, should prove to be very lucrative. At any rate, if these occupations are pursued by Burmans, the large amount of money now taken out of the country would be kept in Burma itself, and, owing to the increase of capital thereby effected, large enterprises could be undertaken.

Out of a population of 10,490,624, the number of prisoners, in 1902, was 16,038, which shows that about 1·5 persons per 1,000 were in confinement, and that the rate of criminality was not abnormally high. Of the jail population, 6,850 persons were engaged in agriculture before their incarceration. As a rule, the agricultural classes work only six months in the year, and time hangs heavy on their hands; hence they indulge in some form of excitement, as cattle-lifting, dacoity, theft, house-breaking, assault etc. It would be well if some system could be devised whereby they and their children would be kept employed for the greater part of the year either by study or other pursuits. For an agricultural country, it is essential that a special curriculum suited to the requirements of the peasantry should be framed.

Several Burman parents have complained of the unruly character of the boys trained in our Anglo-Vernacular schools, and have expressed a desire that Industrial Schools with strict discipline similar to that obtaining in the Insein Reformatory School might be opened. Under the Reformatory Schools Act (VII of 1897), a criminal taint attaches to the "youthful offenders," who are admitted into the Insein School, and no free boy can gain admission unless he has committed a criminal

offence. Section 5, however, provides that, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, the Local Government may use, as Reformatory schools, schools kept by private persons willing to act in conformity with such rules, consistent with the Act, as the Local Government may prescribe in this behalf. Under this section, it would appear that only "Youthful offenders" could be admitted into such recognized schools; but at the same time it is open to the Education Department, which is now administering the Insein School, to arrange with Missionary or other bodies for the establishment of Industrial schools subject to rules similar to those framed under the Act, provided that there are many candidates for admission into such schools; and parents, who are burdened with unruly sons, might approach the Director of Public Instruction on the subject. The complaint referred to appears to be commoner in urban than in rural areas, and Mr. Pope could, on doubt, gauge public feeling through the Deputy Inspectors of Schools. Industrial training in schools freed from all criminal taint would be welcomed by the people, and be an effective agency in diffusing technical education all over the Province, thereby keeping the people better employed reproductively, increasing their welfare and prosperity, and reducing crime considerably in the immediate future.

THE MEMBER FOR EDUCATION (1910).

MR. H. W. ORANGE, Director-General of Education, who was to have vacated his appointment in August, has been asked to stay on in India till the first week in October, when, it is understood, that the Member for Education will be appointed, in place of the Military Supply Member, whose post has remained unfilled during the last two years. A new portfolio will be created out of the Home Department, and it is probable that, besides education, local self-government, sanitation, village administration, and such other matters affecting deeply the social condition of the people will be assigned to it. As Mr. Sinha will resign his Law Membership next autumn, and as it is deemed expedient to have a Native on the Executive Council of the Viceroy, the general belief is that the Member for Education will be a Native of repute, who will not only be an expert in education, but be also acquainted with the methods of Indian administration. Since Mr. Sinha is a Hindu, it is just possible that the new Member may be a

Mahomedan. Even if a Mahomedan is not appointed, there can be no doubt that Sir Charles Hardinge, the new Viceroy, who is intimately acquainted with both Turkish and Persian, and whose tact and sympathy in dealing with Oriental peoples are well known, will see that the interests of the Mahomedans are adequately conserved and safeguarded. Four names have been suggested to the public mind for filling the new appointment: Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, who recently served on Lord Morley's Council; Mr. Abdul Rahim, a Judge of the Madras High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University; Mr. Gokhale, the Nestor of Indian debate and member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council; and Dr. Asutosh Mukerji, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. All of them are educational experts and are conversant with administrative methods, and possess the respect, esteem and confidence of their respective communities. Lord Morley's final selection will be hailed with pleasure, by the general public, but it is also likely to be subjected to criticism, because it is impossible to satisfy both the Hindu and Mahomedan communities at the same time.

The imperative requirements of the time are the improvement of primary and industrial education, the revival and cultivation of indigenous literatures, and the inculcation of the native ideals of loyalty, duty, chivalry, discipline and obedience. The task before the new Member is a most onerous one. He will require the active assistance and co-operation of the influential leaders of the various communities of India, and it will be necessary for him to make extensive tours in order to find out for himself the nature of the different systems of education, the social, intellectual and moral condition of the people, and the necessity for changing the existing state of things. His duty may be succinctly described as raising the type of native life to as high a level as is compatible with its present environment, based, as it is, on the commingling of Eastern and Western ideals. What is good in Oriental civilization should be conserved by all means, while what is sound in Occidental civilization should not be spurned as being foreign. A sound judgment will have to be exercised in the selection and retention of such ideals as would be useful in building up nationalities on sure and satisfactory foundations. Whoever may be appointed, the duty to be performed is a most interesting and patriotic one, as it involves the exercise of the noblest faculties of the mind and the display of the highest traits of character; and as the rôle to be played is that

of the "regenerator and pacificator" of the nascent nationalities of India. As far as Burma is concerned, the work of the Education Member will be simplified considerably owing to the existence of monastic institutions and of a well-organised Buddhist hierarchy, which were the traditional machinery employed by the Burmese Kings of old in raising the spiritual, intellectual, and moral status of the masses, and in making them contented, prosperous and happy.

CHAPTER IX.—CRITICISM.

BUDDHIST LAW.

THE term "Buddhist Law" is a misnomer as already pointed out by Dr. Forchhammer, but it has become stereotyped in the Province and may be accepted for all practical purposes. It is, however, understood to be employed in a restricted sense, namely, to refer to that portion of the indigenous law of the Burmans relating to marriage, succession, and inheritance, which is administered by the British Courts in pursuance of the provisions of section 4 of the Lower Burma Courts Act and of section 87 of the Upper Burma Civil Justice Regulation. The preparation of the proposed digest would not, therefore, be so intricate or gigantic a task as it would appear at first sight.

For the following reasons I agree with the Government Translator, Mr. F. Ripley, in thinking that the selected chapters of the Kin Wun Mingyi's Dhammathat (Attasankhepavannanā) should be made the main text round which the rulings of other Dhammathats should be grouped :—

- (a) The author is a learned scholar and an experienced administrator and legislator, who is well versed in the literature of the Dhammathats.
- (b) The book was largely consulted during the last two reigns of the Burmese dynasty and was held in high esteem, and experience shows that it is a workable compilation.
- (c) The work gives a faithful representation of Burmese life unaffected, to any appreciable degree, by the influences of Lower Burma, where, as in India, the solvent tendency of British rule has set on foot the process of disintegration of native society.

The value of the proposed digest would be considerably enhanced if the agreement or otherwise of the rulings of the different Dhammathats could be commented on by the light of the *pyattōns* and the extant decisions of the Hluttaw and Judges of Upper Burma and also by the light of local custom having the force of law prevailing in the different parts of Burma.

A considerable degree of divergence appears to exist between the *lex scripta* and the *lex non scripta* of Burma, especially in cases of inheritance as in Salin and Yenangyaung, and there has never been any authoritative Dhammathat which could override the rulings of others. In this respect, Burma, before the British annexation, somewhat resembled Germany and France in the 13th and 14th centuries A D., where local autonomy was accorded to each province, where the laws promulgated by the Sovereign were modified to suit local circumstances, and where, unlike in the England of the same period, the King's writ could not run over the whole land. As the written law of continental Europe is based on Roman Law, so the written law of Burma is based on the system of Indian law represented by Manu. In the Burmese versions of Manu, we still find in full force the system of caste and various modes of partition of property and of inheritance, which have doubtless become obsolete. Our attention should, therefore, be partly directed, before it is too late, to a compilation of such a body of local custom. I submit this suggestion for consideration because I believe that the *lex loci* has always occupied a prominent position in judicial matters. The Burmese have a well-known legal maxim that "the rulings of the Dhammathats are overridden by the commands of the Sovereign, and that the latter are overridden by the mutual consent of the parties." Thus, it will be seen that the Dhammathats are a body of rulings to be consulted, deliberated upon, and applied to cases in hand, that the decisions based on such Dhammathats could be reversed or modified by Royal decree, and that Royal decrees could be set at nought or modified by the mutual consent of the parties, which was generally based on compromise, local custom or usage.

The prominence attached to the *lex loci* and the absence of adequate judicial machinery account for the large number of instances where judicial matters were settled by arbitration in Upper Burma before the the British annexation.

The rulings in the Dhammathats, which were never issued as imperative law by sovereign authority, are, in the main, a foreign importation from an Aryan source representing an ideal state of society, which has developed under Brahmanical and Buddhistical influences, such influences being a veneer on the Mongoloid people of Burma. A compromise has, therefore, been effected in which the ethnic element of the borrowing community is the predominant-factor. It is owing to this fact

that we find in this country the *lex non scripta* overruling the *lex scripta*.

Should the above suggestion be adopted and a compilation be taken in hand of the unwritten law of Burma, so far as it concerns the provisions of the law cited above, I think it would be as well to include in it a summary of such of the religious usages and institutions of the country as would be useful to our Courts. Such a compilation would be extremely useful as it would, to a large extent, supply the information required under section 4 of the Lower Burma Courts Act and section 87 of the Upper Burma Civil Justice Regulation.

AN ASTROLOGICAL MANUSCRIPT:

ITS BEARING ON THE BURMESE NEW YEAR FESTIVAL.

DIFFERENT nations have different ways of ushering in the "glad New Year," and no other way, I believe, is so full of fun and frolic, mirth and jollity, as that of the Burmese. The connection of the observance of the New Year with the Water Feast appeared at first to me as being somewhat unaccountable. I made some inquiries about it among my friends, but met with no success. The Burmese, as a rule, are not inquisitive with regard to the origin of their manners and customs, and their stoical acceptance of facts without investigating them, combined with their keeping no diaries or not noting down the principal contemporary events, has, perhaps, led to the non-existence of accounts relating to the origin of such customs. The other day, a friend of mine, at my request, kindly brought me some old palm-leaf manuscripts on astrology, and on reading through one of them for the sake of curiosity, I fortunately discovered a passage partially leading to the long-wished-for solution of the above difficulty. The author traces the origin of the Water Feast to the founding of a city called Devadaha in Oudh. He says that, in ancient times, the princes of a neighbouring kingdom were in the habit of enjoying a bath in a great lake, near which arose, in after times, the city of Devadaha. He further relates that the appointed time of the princes going to the lake was Tagu, which corresponds with the English month of April. The manuscript gives another account to the effect that King Narathihapati or Tarôkpyemin—the King who fled from the Chinese—with his queens and concubines used to go to the river-side every year in the month of Tagu, through a subterranean passage, to enjoy a bath there.

Nevertheless, I presume that these accounts by no means tend wholly to solve our present difficulty, as they show no connection between the royal baths and the observance of the New Year, and, for anything I know to the contrary, the royal personages might have gone for baths to escape from the great heat of the sun, and lastly that they might have chosen Tagu as being the hottest month of the year.

The Burmese call their New Year "Thingyan." This word is derived from the Pali word *अन्तिम* which is again derived from the Sanskrit *अन्ति* 'to pass on'; and so the Burmese word Thingyan literally means "a passing on." The Thingyan is always celebrated when the sun leaves Pisces and enters Aries. This event is calculated and predicted by the Astrologers Royal at Mandalay. About a month or two before the 'good old year' passes away, they circulate among the people printed copies of their prognostications and minute astronomical calculations. I have procured a copy of one and find from it, on the high authority of the Astrologers Royal, that the sun is a luminary internally made of gold and plastered over with crystal, and measuring 50 *yusanas* in diameter and 150 in circumference, one *yusana* being regarded as equal to about 12 English miles. Next he is personified and represented, at the time of his changing his place, as riding on a *Theindaw* horse and holding a water pitcher.

With regard to the story of the "Fabulous Head and the seven fair Custodians," I may parenthetically mention that no such account is given in the *Thingyan Sa* itself, but I believe that this story is current among the people. Owing to Brahmanic influence, the *Thagyamin*—the Recording Angel of Buddhism—is confounded with the Hindu Sakra or Indra, and the Burmese Thagyamin is revered, in addition to his Buddhist attributes, in the Hindu character as the bestower of rain, as the cause of fertility, and the awful ruler of the storm and the director of lightning and thunder. Next, the *Thingyan Sa* proceeds to give directions to the people, enjoining upon them to decorate themselves with certain flowers after washing their head on the New Year's Day. In Lower Burma the *Gaung Se Mingala*—'the auspicious head-washing'—is not so grandly observed as in the Upper Province. There, every one pays great deference to this ceremony.

The Astrologers give two or three different prognostications as predicted by different authorities; and I observe that, in some essential points, such as the scarcity of rain and

deficiency in natural productions, and consequent prevalence of mortality among the people, there exists much difference. I believe that the really educated people do not attach any value to such prognostications. But I must really admit that these prognostications do tend to the consummation of the events they predict. For instance, if the scarcity of paddy is predicted, the people will at once proceed to store for food and for trade such a quantity of it, as would necessarily raise its demand in a short time. Whatever be the amount of truth to be attached to such prognostications, it is the part of wisdom to adapt ourselves to the circumstances rather than to allow the circumstances to govern us.

Lastly, the Astrologers Royal remind their readers that a couple of thousands of years only remain for the existence and propagation of Buddhism, and exhort them to observe the laws and do meritorious deeds while they are fortunate enough to live within the cycle of the *Mahā Thathanadaw*—the great religion.

BURMESE HISTORICAL WRITINGS.

BURMESE historians are notorious for their turn for exaggeration, for vaunting their national prowess and glory, and for the devotion of their pages to the achievements of the members of the royal family. In their accounts, an unimportant skirmish, where a few soldiers were killed, would be described as a battle which decided the fates of empires, and which was contested by myriads. Their writings are mere records of court intrigues, bloodshed, tyranny, oppression, the number of people killed, and of villages destroyed. To them their kings are superhuman beings. The descriptions of their heroes greatly remind us of the Homeric legends, except that Minerva, Juno, Jupiter, and Mercury are left in the shade to give place to the all powerful *Thagyamin*, the Cakra of Hindu and Buddhist mythology. To show that they use their turn for undeserved adulation to laud their patrons to the skies at the expense of truth, and that foreigners should be cautious in following them and sifting historical truth from exaggeration, plain unadorned truth from allegories, the following instances may not be out of place.

When Alaungpaya was warring with the Talaings in the maritime provinces, his biographer says that the *Thagyamin*

came and presented him with a celestial dagger. The generality of the Burmans believe this. Little do they know that this weapon is nothing but emblematical of the bravery, coolness, shrewdness, discipline, and administrative ability, which mark one as a ruler of men.

The sycophant, who records the events of the second Anglo-Burmese war, puts down that a number of ship-wrecked *Kalas* arrived in the country. They wanted food and clothing. They grew importunate; and to get rid of them His Majesty, the Dispenser of life and death, the Ruler of land and water, drove them out by the supernatural power of a weapon called the *ဝဲလှိုင်လှိုင်**. This is how a native historian glozes over the Yandabo treaty, and especially the article which binds the Burmese monarch to pay a war indemnity of some crores of rupees to the English.

In the reign of Bodawpaya, the Mahā Muni Image was brought by land *via* Padaung on wheeled contrivances. On its way, the back part of its head was smashed and the royal engineers managed to patch it up with the help of the *thitse* and gold leaf. The national historian exults over the event and records that, while the image was being cast, the cleavage in the head would not close up, so Gautama Buddha came by an aerial journey and making his appearance near the smithy exclaimed: "Younger brother, I will let your head close up by applying the warmth of my bosom to it." The historian adds that the Sage acted accordingly, and that the cleavage in the head of the Image, to close up which had hitherto baffled the ingenuity of the most skilful of the smiths, closed up of its own accord.

There are only two classes of people in Burma, who, by habit and culture, are competent to place on record the events which are taking place around them. They are the priests and the officials employed about the palace. The members of the former class are, however, too much absorbed in their studies of the Tripitaka, too much engrossed in surveying the miseries, cares and sorrows of this ephemeral world, and in finding out means to enable them to escape from the whirlpool of *samsāra* or transmigration, so that they have no time left to direct their attention to compiling secular histories. If we turn to the latter class, we find that they are fitted by every circumstance to become the historians of their nation. They

* The handkerchief of the *Thagyamin* and a quibble on the whiteness of silver, i.e., the large indemnity in silver given to the British East India Company.

are the wheels and axles of the strange administrative machinery peculiar to the Burmese. They are courtiers, soldiers, ambassadors, and poets. Some of them have been to England and France on the west, and to China on the east. They have every opportunity of observing how things are going on both within and without the Palace walls. Their mental energies, moreover, are always in good trim; for a sharp head and a smooth tongue are in constant requisition to free one from an ignominious death on the block. Besides, poetical genius is not without demand in the Palace. Almost every King has some bards in pay. Every evening before His Majesty goes to bed, the *Sadaw-bat* or royal readers are expected to read out aloud from a scriptural book, or a historical ballad recounting the deeds of some national hero, a pastoral ballad, or some pieces of poetry written in praise of some noble white elephant or horses. But with all such resources at their command, we are sorry to say that these courtiers have left us no trustworthy history containing an account of wars, battles and treaties, the state of the kingdom, social, political and religious, the progress of civilization and of the arts and sciences, the primary causes which led to the conquest of one nation by another. For the cause of their strange apathy to accuracy and their almost total disregard for truth, we shall not have to go far to seek. They wrote to please the King, whom they regarded as the fountain of honour, mercy, and justice and whose caprice they must servilely follow to have their interests promoted.

Other causes, however, exist which contribute to vitiate the historical writings of the Burmese. Pre-eminently in the category of such causes, we would place Buddhism. Before the introduction of this religion, it is evident that their institutions partook of a clannish character. This character the new faith has tended, in no small degree, to destroy. Buddhists are enjoined to look upon themselves not as members of a clan, tribe, or nation, but as parts of the universe, where the allotment of conditions to mortals is proportionate to the amount of merit or demerit they may have acquired in their previous existence. By degrees, the Burmese learnt to discard their relationship with the Chins and Kachins, till they came to look upon themselves as not belonging to the Turanian race, but to the Aryan Brahmans and Kshatriyas who immigrated into the valley of the Irrawaddy from the banks of the Ganges. From this period, or from the settlement of a Hindu colony at Prome,

probably dates the introduction of the supernatural and miraculous element which we now so often find in their writings. We ought to have mentioned another fact, which tends in no small degree to the acceptance of these historical accounts as unquestionable truths, and which gives a smell of antiquity to such writings. Most histories, or, we may say all, are written by courtly parasites who fatten themselves on the bounty of the King, Queen, princes, and princesses. These works lie pigeon-holed in the royal archives for a long time, for at least three generations. This is done to ensure their authoritative-ness among the descendants of the people who took a part in the affairs which such histories record. The securing of this end is made doubly sure by the non-existence of the custom of diary-keeping among the people at large, by the apathetic attitude they assume towards the political affairs which effect their life, honour, prosperity and liberty, by the division of the country into different small principalities, and lastly, by the petty strifes carried on between clan and clan, chief and chief, nation and nation.

But with all their love of exaggeration, their fondness of the set expression of "2,000 years ago," when describing an event, their pardonable exultation over the exploits of their favourite heroes, their being devoid of philosophical sentiments and sympathy towards the vulgar herd, the writings of the Burmese historians should not be discarded in an off-hand manner, for some germs of truth may underlie their exaggerations and distortions. They may prove a useful ally to a discretionary compiler. They may be summoned to the bar of history to give their evidence. And such evidence should be carefully weighed, compared with foreign accounts, such as the old Chinese and Portuguese annals, and submitted to the searching crucible of historical criticism, tradition, mythology, philology and archæology, and then the true historian of the Burmese race should base his verdict on such facts as his researches may have brought to light.

THE HMANBYATHATPON.*

To the students of the Burmese language—be he a native or a foreigner—the *thatpôn* or the so-called spelling-book will serve as a "*vade mecum*". It is the work, the mastering of which is tantamount to mastering the intricacies of the Burmese

* By Maung Pye, Pali Teacher, Municipal Middle School, Rangoon.

language, with its homophonous apparatus, and the various phonetic values attached to its letters. In it is combined what European scholars would call vocabulary, syntax, prosody and orthoëpy. Hence we find that an important place was accorded to it in the curricula of studies in native schools in the Province before the Western system of education was introduced into them. In those days, after learning the alphabet, every boy or girl was made to learn certain metrical passages embodying distinctions between different *thats*. And thus the written language of those times was much purer and more in conformity with the national standard than that of our own.

The importance of the *thatpôn* is the more enhanced when we take into consideration the place the Burmese language occupies in the genetic classification of languages. It is an Indo-Chinese language with a modified Aryan alphabet borrowed from India. In this process of adapting the alphabet of a tongue to another whose genius is widely different from its own, the phonetic value of some letters is modified to some degree. Thus the င် is differently pronounced in တင့် (ti), ခင် (sin), မ် (myi), &c. Again ခိုယိ a bho: kyi: is pronounced a pho: gyi. To this cause as also to the destruction of the tonal inflection, which still exists in Shan, may be attributed the existence of "a large number of homonymous words, . . . widely different in meaning, and distinguished in spoken language by well defined modulation in the utterance of a vowel element"—(Prof. Em. Forchhammer's Indo-Chinese languages, p. 1). As an illustration might be instanced the word ခင် with its phonetic modification ခင်

ခင်—to roast.

ခင်—not found in use.

ခင်—to be free from, to be separated from.

” a small unripe fruit.

” a police-station.

” a scorpion.

And in the existence of the ခင် and ခင် we find two remnants of the mode of utterance in the tonal scale so peculiar to the Indo-Chinese languages especially to the Shan.

Again, Professor Forchhammer says: "writing in Talaing, Burmese and Shan is not the hand-maid of speech; orthoëpy is but dimly reflected in orthography; a stranger may acquire the spoken tongue by training of the mouth and ear, or the

လှေ—lôk kha

ခွေ—kaing gha

The book, with a few collations with standard works, will serve as a fair text-book in these days of vitiated Burmese spelling, when natives themselves, in general, both young and old, cannot write a decent letter in Burmese without making glaring blunders in spelling. Moreover, the *pôngyis* will welcome it as an old friend rescued from decaying palm leaves, and lay-school teachers will join their voice in the general welcome of a work eminently fitted to raise the standard of Burmese orthography in their schools.

THE PĀRAMĪGAN.

THE volume now before us, which has been lately published by the Hanthawaddy Press, is one of the text-books prescribed for the provincial high proficiency examination in Burmese. It is the work of Shin Thilawuntha, the *Thathanabaing* or Archbishop of **Ava**, who flourished during the reign of **Mingauṅ II** (circa 1491 A.D.). The *Pāramīgan* is looked upon by the learned Burmans as the *သုတေသနသီ*, the quintessence of all writings, and as the archetype of later religious poetry. In fact what **Coedmon's** poetical paraphrase of the Bible is to the *Paradise Lost*, **Thilawuntha's** work is to the later religious poetry of **U Ponnya**, **Kyegan Maung Yingyi**, **Monywe Saya** and other writers. The essential feature which commends the work is, that it possesses an easy unaffected style, a pleasant harmony, which, when heard, will ravish the ear and make a deep impression on the memory, a love for Pālisms, an ardent veneration for Buddhism, and a frequent allusion to scenes and accounts in the Buddhistic scriptures. The metre in which it is written may, for want of a better name, be called the *Desana* metre, i.e. the metre in which all the Burmese poetical paraphrases of the Buddha's *desanas* or sermons are written. Each foot consists of four syllables. The fourth syllable of each foot rhymes with the third of the next. This would imply that Burmese poems could be written like the measured lines of English poetry. This is far from the actual case. The third syllable of every second foot rhymes again with the second of the next succeeding one. So each intermediate foot must fulfil two conditions, *vis.*, 1st, its third syllable must rhyme with the fourth of the preceding one, and

ephemeral world, of the sordidness of wealth, and the utter inability of its owner to possess himself of it at all times and all places. He, therefore, thought thus :—

"How useless is wealth; people live and die for it; how foolish they are; when they die, can they take it with them beyond the grave?" Such thoughts harassed him a great deal, till, at last, with royal permission he proclaimed by the beat of the drum that on such a date and at such a place he would give away his immense wealth to all without any distinction as to creed, caste, or rank. He built four spacious halls at the four corners of the city, and, having there piled up his treasures mountains high, he left his house and home for the wild woods. There, he underwent many mortifying penances and, in due course, came to be endowed with supernatural powers, such as going about in the air or creating things. One day, however, he heard that the Buddha Dipankaro had appeared and inaugurated the reign of his law. Sumedha heard a great hum of voices proceeding from the distant city of Amaravati, and thither he went by an aerial journey to find out its cause. He discovered that the Buddha was going to honour the city with a visit and that the people were repairing the roads, putting up banners and streamers, and decorating their houses with plantain trees and trellis-works. He then inwardly resolved that he would ask permission of Dipankaro to become a Buddha in some future world and work out the salvation of others. With this intention he asked the citizens to assign him some work which had something to do with the promised visit of the Buddha. Accordingly, the draining of a marsh was allotted to him. **Sumedha** had not finished his work when the arrival of the Holy Teacher was announced, and **Dipankaro**, surrounded by his yellow-garbed disciples, was seen approaching the place where the hermit was standing. **Sumedha** was now in a fix. Dirty water would surely soil the holy feet; and how great would the *Karma* be to him if he could prevent this? A bright idea struck him. At all costs he must serve the Buddha. He must ask permission of Him to become an Omniscient One. Formerly, the opportunity to become one was just out of his reach by reason of his sex, but now he would strive hard to attain his long cherished end. He, therefore, laid his hermit's cloak in the mire, and loosening his top-not, laid himself thereon, thereby enabling the Buddha and his disciples to reach dry ground. At this juncture a mental struggle took place. It was certain that he could easily enter **Nirvana**. But the question, which

presented itself to his mind was, should he alone attain this blissful state in a passive state, or exert himself to save others from this seething cauldron of misery, sorrow, and death? Yes, he should follow the latter course; and the blessed **Dipankaro** standing close by his head, pronounced: "Behold ye, this austere hermit lying in the mire? This man lies here having made the resolution to become a Buddha; his prayer will be answered. At the end of four *asankheyyas* and a hundred thousand cycles hence, he will become a **Buddha**, named **Gotama Buddha**, and in that birth the city Kapilavatthu will be his residence, Queen **Māya** will be his mother, King **Suddhodana** his father, his chief disciple will be the *thera* **Upatissa**, his second disciple the *thera* **Kolita**, the Buddha's servitor will be **Ananda**, his chief female disciple the nun **Khema**, the second nun **Uppalavanna**. When he attains the year of ripe knowledge, having retired from the world and made a great exertion, having received at the foot of a banyan tree a meal of rice milk and partaken of it by the bank of the Nerañjarā, having ascended the throne of knowledge, he will, at the foot of an Indian fig tree, attain supreme Buddhahood." For further information we would refer our readers to **Rhys Davids'** translation of the Buddhist birth stories (Trübner's Oriental series) from which the above extract is taken.

The language in which the *Pāramigan* is written, is, we must admit, very difficult for foreigners to understand. It is old Burmese, and the generation of *Sayas*, who are conversant with it, is passing away. Now-a-days it is hard to find educated natives to explain satisfactorily even the first few feet, we have quoted above. The study of Pāli in the *kyaungs* has thoroughly modified the Burmese language. It fact, Burmese has been split up into three dialects, *vis*: 1st, that spoken in the *kyaungs*; 2nd, that spoken in the Palace and the courts; and 3rd, the dialect of the bazaar people and shop-keepers. "Quarrel" among the *pōngyis* and the learned is ဝိုင်းဆွဲ; among the officials မိုက်ခိုင်းဆွဲ, and ခိုင်း among the common people. "To see the king" is not ရှင်ဆုရခိုင်းကြည့်ရအောင် but ဘုရားတော်ကြီးဆုရခိုင်းကြည့်ရအောင်; an image is not ဝတ္ထု but ဆယ့်ယံဆယ့်. It is on account of the number of synonyms, and the large admixture of Pāli derivatives, that a serious study of the Burmese language is rendered very uninviting. We, therefore, think that the book under review is much too hard for our hard worked Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners. The training these candidates may have received while studying for

their I. C. S. examination will count as nothing when they approach the study of the Burmese classics. If they have not studied Sanskrit and Pāli, they had better begin their study of these languages at once, if they at all wish to understand the works held dear by their fellow-subjects. But the question is : " From where will they get their time to effect their purpose? " They are very much bothered and large demands are made upon their time. They have to look after dacoits, bad characters, jails, roads, conservancy affairs, and what not. They come homed jaded with no inclination whatever to work, and we are sure that most of them would rather prefer taking up, after a day's hard work, some novel or newspaper than an old Burmese classic, which would require an old *saya* well versed in native histories, traditions and songs and Buddhistical lore, to explain. Last year the Tenasserim Press of Moulmein issued a book called the " Pāramīdawgan-Apye-Kyan " or " Explanatory Notes on the allusions occurring in the Pāramīgan. " Even with the help of this book, the study of the text-book will not be thorough. When the substance and the allusions are not properly understood, the appreciation of the language and metre is out of the question.

THE SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF BURMESE LAW.*

THIS essay, which has now been sometime before the public, was written in response to an offer of Rs. 1,000 made " Mæcenas-like " by our learned Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Jardine, to be given to the best essayist on the " Sources and Development of Burmese Law from the era of the first introduction of the Indian Law to the time of the British occupation of Pegu. " We have read through the essay and we cannot help concurring with Bishop Bigandet that " the Orientalists must feel grateful to the author for the valuable information on many points of history and philology he has touched upon in investigating the sources of the Burmese law ".

Dr. Forchhammer divides the law literature of Burma into three periods :

- I. Extending from the 11th to the 16th century A.D.; the law books of the period being the Dham-mavilāsa, the Wāgaru, and the Kozaunggyōk.

* Jardine Prize Essay by Dr. F. Forchhammer, Professor of Pāli at the Government High School, Rangoon, 1886.

- II. Comprising the 16th and 17th centuries and the first half of the 18th; the law-book of the period being the *Mahārājadhammathat* of Manurāja (1650 A.D.)
- III. Commences with Alaungpaya (1750 A.D.). The principal works of the period are the *Manuyin*, *Manu Kyè*, *Manu Vannanā*, *Manusārāshwemyin*, the last being the *Attasankhe-pavannanā*, compiled by Mingyi U Gaung, King Thibaw's present Prime Minister, and printed at Mandalay in 1882.

It would appear from the essay that the Burmese civil law is not at all based on the modern schools of Hindu Law but on an older *Manudhammasattham* of "unknown origin to the Burmans, and of no decided religious colouring." Of what nature this work is, when and how it was imported into Burma,—the present materials at our command are too meagre for us to determine. That the work is of pre-neo-Brahmanic origin, *i.e.*, one written during the ascendancy of Buddhism in India, at least, in the Southern part, and before the Brahmins, with their ritualisms and beliefs in the atonement of sin by vicarious offering, and the iron bond of caste-system, had succeeded in expelling the rival faith—perhaps, we are at liberty to assume. This assumption may be based on the division of the people into castes or social classes alluded to in Buddhistical works. We take the *Jātaka*, the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, and the *Milindapañhā* as representing the pre-Buddhistic, Buddhistic, and post-Buddhistic, periods. In the *Nigrodhamigajātaka* we find; "*Evam Mahāsatto rājānam sabbasattānam abhayam yācitvā utthāya rājānam pañcasu silesu patitthāpetvā, dhammam cara mahārājā, mātāpitusu puttādhitāsu brāhmaṇa-gahapatikesu negamajānapadesu dhammam caranto samam caranto kāyassa bhedaṃ sugatim saggam lokam gamissasīti.*"—In this passage we meet with the division of the people into two classes from an ascetic point of view: *Brahmons* or ascetics and *gahapatikas* or lords of the household. Gradually, through the fervid zeal of Gautama, the Brahmins, whose intellectual superiority has already gained for them a social cognizance as a distinct class consisting solely of teachers and reformers who subsisted on the charity of others, were gathered into the fold of Buddhism. One of Gautama's principles as a propagandist was to bring about as much reconciliation as possible among the jarring elements of philosophical speculation, which

enviored him. The conciliatory tone he assumed towards the Brahmanic faith, which was split up into many sects and was still smouldering under his feet, is evidenced by the *Tevijjasutta* where the great Indian Sage is represented as proving to a number of young Brahmins that, as the ways leading to the absorption with the *Brahmā* and those to *Arahatship* were practically the same, the two conditions must be identical. Again, Buddhistic Brahmins and Hinduic Brahmins are widely different: the one is so by virtue, by good works—he is the “*tam aham brūni brahmanam*” of the *Dhammapada*; the other is so by the mere accident of birth.

Buddhism progressed. It succeeded in promulgating the social equality of all men, the uselessness of vicarious offering, and the futility of all attempts to wash away sin in this present life. But still Buddhism was loyal to the principles of its Founder; it still affected a conciliatory tone towards Hinduic Brahmins. *Samanas* and *Brahmanas*—the *Rahans* and *Pōnnas* of the Burmans—the Buddhists are enjoined upon to look to with becoming respect and humility. Hospitality and every form of liberality are to be shown to them, and, in the later Burmese *dharmathats*, the nation has become so imbued with this homily that we find separate laws prescribed for all matters of dispute arising between *Samana* and *Samana*, *Brahmana* and *Brahmana*. Professor Rhys Davids, however, in his translation of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, takes a different view of the subject. He seems to be of opinion that the Buddhistic *Samana* may be employed in a double sense, the ambiguity, he adds, arising from the Pāli equivalent “*sam*” standing both for “*sram*” and “*saṃ*”. So he would translate ‘*samana-brahmanā*’ by ‘saintly brahmins.’

Coming now to the *Milinda Pañhā* or book of questions between the Buddhist priest *Nāgasena* and the Bactrian Greek king *Menandros*, we find * “*Yadi bhante Gosāla, idhaloke khattiyā brahmanā vessā suddā candālā pukkusā . . .*” Here we observe that, in the enumeration of the various castes, at least, social classes, precedence is accorded to the *kshatriyas*. And my *Saya* tells me that pre-eminence likewise is to be inferred from this arrangement and order of the words. Query: Does not this show that Buddhism is, in one of its phases, but a reaction against the claim of Brahmanic superiority and that it quietly accords ascendancy to the soldier-caste, to which

*Trenckner's edition, paragraph 5.

Gautama belonged, without wounding the pride and arrogance of the Brahmans?

The so-called Buddhist Law of Burma is interwoven with the tenets of Buddhism; an intimate knowledge of it, therefore, is essential for the interpretation of that Law. The belief in the working of *karma*, for instance, plays an important part in modifying the pre-Buddhistic and aboriginal laws of the Burmans into that form in which we now find them as recorded in the *Dhammathats*. With regard to the law of inheritance, Dr. Forchhammer has clearly shown the different stages through which it passed to be moulded into its present form. Before he embraced Buddhism, the Burman's belief in a future world was like that now held by the Chinese, Chins, and Hindus. He believed that spiritual benefits would accrue to the departed by offerings on the part of the living, and held that the "heritage must be administered in a manner most productive of spiritual advantage to the deceased ancestors." This belief is the origin of early marriage and ancestral worship both in India and China, and Burma just escaped from the evils of the early marriage system by the timely introduction of Buddhism.

The essay before us is a store-house of information. Not only does it point out the development of Burmese Law since the settlement of the Gangetic Hindus—called *αρεοι* from Gola, (Skr. Gauda,) Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal . . . on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban up to the British occupation of Pegu, but it also gives us glimpses of the Burman in his pre-Buddhistic days, and proofs of his ethnic affinity to the Chin. Amongst the Burmans there is a current tradition that the races of mankind are 101 in number. We have asked many Burmans reputed for *Pitaka* lore to expound us the allusion contained in it. But they all scratched their heads and confessed their ignorance. Dr. Forchhammer has pointed out that, for the origin of this cosmogonic tradition, we must go to the Chins. Hlinu, their highest deity, laid 101 eggs from which sprang the 101 races of mankind (*vide* p. 14 of the Essay).

As Mr. Jardine has said, in working up the Law of Burma, the scholar must forerun the judge and legislator. The introduction of British Law into the Province has produced a transition state; the people have a hazy knowledge of their own law and institutions and are bewildered in applying it to their own affairs.

In some of the cases we have met with, there is a wide divergence between the law laid down and that followed. A Burman wishing to divorce his wife, a wife wishing to divorce her husband, members of the same family disputing about an inheritance,—all such cases are sometimes brought before arbitrators consisting of *kyaungtagas*, *payatagas*, *lugyis*, and they generally give their decision in a haphazard fashion, caring only that they receive their fee ငွေအိမ်စင်စေ့ or “Nor can cases involving points on divorce, partition, and inheritance be satisfactorily disposed of so as to meet the provisions of the Burma Courts Act by European and Eurasian Judges, the generality of whom have a poor knowledge of Burmese and Pali. It is now high time, therefore, that Burmese Law was laid on a sounder basis. Mr. Jardine has laid the foundation-stone, and the raising of the fabric is left to Dr. Forchhammer with his systematic acumen of the West to bear on the learning of the East.

CHAPTER X.—MISCELLANEA.

THE SERVANT DIFFICULTY.

BURMA is not the only province in India that labours under this difficulty, and the Rangoon Trades Association is not the only body that desires to remove or mitigate it by means of legislation. In the hill stations of the Punjab, like Simla, the difficulty is an ever-growing one; the servants demand high wages, and their employers are practically at their mercy. The Punjab Government, therefore, framed a bill called the "Punjab Hill Stations Servants Bill," and solicited the sanction of the Government of India to pass it into law. The sanction has, however, been withheld, and the matter has been dropped. It is probable that the measure proposed here will not meet with better success, even if a reference is invited to the existence in Ceylon of an ordinance regulating the registration of domestic servants. It is understood that the Government of India are strongly averse to any law that would institute a form of quasi-slavery, and that would, without affording any compensating advantages, equally harass master and servant. After all, the difficulty complained of can be much mitigated by the master himself, who should bear in mind the adage "like master, like servant." It is the master who, to some extent, moulds the character of the servant. If the latter is badly treated, and if he is convinced of the insecurity of the tenure of his appointment, it is but human nature that he should make hay while the sun shines, that he should resort to lying and cheating, the only weapons of defence for the weak, and that he should try his best to do the minimum work for the maximum wage. It is seldom that a servant is kept on for five continuous years; he migrates from one household to another, and, in the course of his migrations, accumulates a quantity of testimonials, which are presented for the perusal of a new employer. If he has any moral sense, it becomes more and more blunted in the course of years, till he becomes fully qualified for admission to jail.

In Burma, domestic servants are of varying nationalities. In the sea-port towns, natives of Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces are employed. *In the frontier stations and

the Shan States, Kachin, Shan and Panthay servants are met with. In some of the stations of Upper Burma, like Shwebo, Sagaing, Mandalay and Myingyan, the servants are almost all Burmese, while on a few of the steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, Chinese servants are employed. Provided that one knows the language, and is prepared to put up with certain idiosyncrasies, it is most economical and satisfactory to employ indigenous servants. There is nothing to complain of regarding the Burmese servants of Shwebo, Sagaing and Mandalay. They are intelligent, cheerful, and obliging, and are honest as compared with imported servants. It is a pity that there is no school for cookery; otherwise the servants in a European household, from the cook to the butler, might all be Burmans. Most Europeans, however, have neither the inclination nor the leisure to acquire a knowledge of colloquial Burmese, and it is the fashion to engage Madrassi servants. Even this class of servants render good service in a well-ordered household where they are treated with consideration and kindness. Opinions differ as to their character or honesty; but on the whole, they have, during the last half century, contributed largely to the ease, comfort, and happiness of the European residents of this Province. It is not at all clear why they should be specially vilified now. Burma is, of course, still the El Dorado of Europeans as well as of Indians. Englishmen come here to shake the pagoda tree, and Indian servants are bent on the same mission. If the former enjoy a higher rate of salary here than in England or India, why should complaint be made of the high wages demanded by the latter? In the French Colony of Pondicherry, the Chief Justice draws a monthly salary of Rs. 250, and rents and wages are very low. If it is desired to get servants on low wages, it will be necessary first to apply the pruning knife to the salaries and emoluments of our more highly paid officials.

BUDDHIST WILLS—I.

THE Catudisa Upasaka Society of Rangoon recently memorialized the Local Government praying that testamentary power might be conferred on Burmese Buddhists, one of the reasons urged being that, on the death of a wealthy Burmese Buddhist, his estate is generally frittered away in litigation, thereby preventing the accumulation of capital in the country. There does not appear to be a full consensus

of opinion among the Burmese community of Lower Burma as to the expediency of granting the prayer. The evils complained of are generally admitted, but some objectors say that much injustice will be entailed if a good portion of an estate is willed away to younger children or collateral relatives to the prejudice of the elder and more rightful heirs. The question is further complicated by the prevalence of polygamy, which, happily, has been on the decrease since the introduction of British rule. Favouritism and caprice are motives which often sway a testator. A Burman may have several wives and grown-up children; when he is a septuagenarian, he may marry a young and fascinating wife. It is more than probable that he may leave the major portion of his estate to his most recently married wife and her offspring. What, then, are the senior wives and their children to do? If, instead of polygamy, which is also a Hindu and Mahomedan institution, there had been concubinage, as in China, matters would have been very much simplified; for, in that case, the senior wife would be the mistress of the household, and all the concubines and their children together with the estate would belong to her. She would have a life interest in the estate, which would be partitioned among the sons only, as daughters do not count in China. In Burma, however, every child, male or female, and every wife, senior or lessor, count; hence the confusion, uncertainty and tribulation when a rich Burman dies.

Messrs. Sandford, Jardine, and Meres, Judicial Commissioners of Lower Burma, have ruled that Burmese Buddhists cannot make wills. This ruling has operated most prejudicially especially in Maulmain, where Burman or Talaing lessees of forests have been known to accumulate forty or fifty lakhs of rupees during their life-time. When they die, their large estates disappear, and their children have to ascend the ladder from the lowest rung again. It is a pity to see the results of energy, diligence, and thrift wasted in this manner, and to witness the ceaseless striving after wealth without being able to enjoy the advantage of any momentum of speed acquired by one's forebears. Under such circumstances, large commercial companies cannot be formed by Burmans, and the development of this rich province must be left to foreign enterprise and foreign capital. Meanwhile, in the absence of suitable and sound means of investment, the Burmans will go on building their *kyaungs*, *zayats* and pagodas, covering the whole land with buildings, which are not required, and which are allowed to fall into decay and ruin. Under the unstable rule of Burmese

Kings, when life and property were insecure, and when personal caprice, and not law, was the guiding factor in all legal transactions, the custom of storing merit for future existences and of opening a credit account for the next world had its *raison d'être*. But, under the British *régime*, when all transactions are subject to the supremacy of the law, and when the law itself is no respecter of persons, it is a flagrant anachronism for a man to spend all his property for the good of a problematical future, and not to permit his posterity to enjoy the fruits of his thrift and industry. Educated Burmans are anxious to adapt themselves to this new order of things, and to follow the example of the West in the matter of culture, accumulation of wealth, and commercial enterprise. Legislation has a great influence in making or marring a nation or in shaping its career and development. Half a century ago, the Parsis could scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding natives of India in education, manners or customs. They numbered only about 100,000; and they were almost lost in the immense Indian population. In 1865, however, an Act to define and amend the Law relating to intestate succession among the Parsis was passed; and the effect was marvellous. Intestate property was no longer frittered away; a greater sense of security stimulated the accumulation of wealth; commercial companies were formed; and culture and refinement were fostered. At the present day, the Parsis are the best educated, the most intelligent, and the most enterprising community in India, and they stand shoulder to shoulder with their European compeers. The first two natives of India who entered Parliament are Parsis; and no better credential is required to attest to their success in life.

While the Burmans of Lower Burma are somewhat divided in their opinion as to the expediency of making wills, the people of Upper Burma appear to be unanimous in thinking that testamentary power has always prevailed in the country and should be restored. This conflict of opinion is most interesting and requires a careful consideration on the part of the Government. The first step to take appears to be to appoint a commission or committee to report on the point at issue, after recording both oral and documentary evidence: and, if the report is favourable, to lay down such conditions and restrictions for making such wills as are in harmony with indigenous law and custom.

BUDDHIST WILLS—II.

THE Deputy Commissioner of Town Lands, Rangoon, has received the following from Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Government Archæologist, regarding the testamentary power of the Burmese Buddhists: I have the honour to say that, at the two meetings held at the Central Hotel and the Victoria Hall, on the 28th June and the 17th July 1903 respectively, there was an unanimity of opinion that testamentary power should be conferred on the Buddhists of Burma. At the second meeting it was urged that no restriction in respect of territorial area or kind of property to be bequeathed should be imposed.

It is understood that the present question affects only the Burmese Buddhists, as persons of Chinese nationality or descent all over the Province enjoy the right of making a testamentary disposition of their property.

The Commissioner Pegu has already held an enquiry; and a further investigation is scarcely necessary. In these circumstances, an expression of my own personal opinion will probably be sufficient.

My answers to the questions asked by the Local Government are as follows: (i) There is, at the present time, a strong feeling in favour of legislation. This feeling is shared both by Upper and Lower Burma. (ii) Public opinion on the subject is the same in the larger towns as in rural districts. The rural population prefers to be guided, in a large measure, by the keener intelligence and wider experience of the larger towns. (iii) If legislation is undertaken, the power of disposition by will should be absolute; and Indian experience as detailed in Chapter XI of Mayne's "Hindu Law and Usage," may be followed with advantage.

It is remarkable that there is no Sanskrit or Pāli word denoting a will in the sense used by Stephen (*vide* Commentaries on the Laws of England, vol. I, Chapter XX, and vol. II, Chapter VII). What is known as a "*the-dan-sa*" among the Burmese partakes of the nature of a testament as well as of a deed of gift *inter vivos*. It may be written or oral, and may wholly or partially take effect during the life-time of a donor. In the words of the Burmese ex-Ministers of the Hluttaw, who reported on the subject in 1888, the condition of a valid "*the-dan-sa*" are thus set forth: "Provided that the testator is not *in extremis*, that he has not fallen into that state of unconsciousness which precedes death, that the testament,

either written or oral, is proved to have been made in the presence of respectable monks or laymen, or under circumstances which render it valid, such testament is not contrary to the Buddhist Scriptures or the secular books as the *Dhammathats*." An English will possesses three characteristics, namely: (i) It is drawn up in secret and is attested by witnesses; (ii) it may be revoked or modified by the testator; (iii) it takes effect only upon the death of the testator.

On the other hand, a Burmese "*the-dan-za*" is drawn up when the testator is in old age or suffering from illness, or when he feels that his end is drawing near. It is attested by reliable witnesses; but its secrecy is not observed. It is seldom, if ever, revoked or modified. In respect of the whole or part of the property affected, it may take effect, even during the life-time of the testator. In Oriental countries, secrecy in private affairs is not generally observed, and compromise is the key-note of all transactions. Hence, in Burma at least, the object of a testamentary disposition of property is to prevent litigation and satisfy the legatees, rather than to impose the wishes of the testator upon his heirs.

It appears to me that the most satisfactory way to confer testamentary power upon the Buddhists of Burma will be to extend to this Province the operation of the Hindu Wills Act (XXI of 1870), which is an Act to regulate the wills of Hindus, Jains, Sikhs, and Buddhists in the Lower Provinces of Bengal and in the towns of Madras and Bombay. In the matter of testamentary power, it is scarcely justifiable to make any invidious distinction between the Buddhists of Burma and their co-religionists in India. If the Hindu Wills Act is worked in connection with sections 40—46 of the Indian Registration Act (III of 1877), and sections 2 and 154 of the Probate and Administration Act (V of 1881), there is every reason to hope that its extension to Burma will give universal satisfaction to the Burmese people.

It is desirable to combat the prevailing opinion as to the status of the *Dhammathats*, which correspond to the *Dharmashastras* of India. They are, in no way, to be regarded as legislative enactments, or as having the force of imperative law. They are the compilation of jurisconsults, and are intended to reflect, in some way, the conditions of the age, when they were written (*vide* pages vii and viii of Mr. Burgess's Prefatory Note to the Kinwun Mingyi's Digest of Burmese Buddhist Law). The latest *Dhammathat* is the

Attathankhepa Wunnana, which was compiled by the venerable Kinwun Mingyi, C.S.I., and published in 1882. It is based on earlier works; but its rulings were never enforced by sovereign authority. Its provisions were not submitted to public opinion; nor were they discussed by any assembly of Ministers and approved by the Burmese King. They are, at best, but a collection of *obiter dicta* based on those of former jurisconsults. In these circumstances, the time appears to have arrived for the codification of Burmese Buddhist Law. The conferment of testamentary power will revolutionise the rulings of the British Courts during the past half century, and the present opportunity should be availed of to evolve order out of chaos by systematising the "principles underlying the rulings in the *Dhammathats*." I venture to think that ample materials already exist for such a codification, which would undoubtedly simplify the work of our courts of justice, and remove that element of uncertainty generally attached to cases relating to Buddhist law.

MANDALAY: A PLAGUE-STRICKEN CITY (1906).

WHEN Rangoon was held, in February 1905, by plague in its death-grip, people generally thought that Mandalay would escape from this dreadful visitation because of its torrid heat, and the layers of its superabundant, fine, atomic dust. The reprieve enjoyed, however, did not endure long: it lasted about eleven months, and plague broke out with great fury on the 2nd January last. The mortality was much higher at Mandalay. At Rangoon it never exceeded 30 on any single day, while at Mandalay it ranged daily, during the last few weeks, from three to four dozen. The death-roll has been 1,397 up to the 5th April and two-fifths of the population have abandoned their homes and fled across the river to the Sagaing side, or into the Northern districts. The Local authorities are putting forth their best energies in combatting the epidemic; but they do not appear to be supported by the elders with the same amount of intelligence, public spirit, and loyalty as at Rangoon.

Opinion varies as to the cause of the present calamity. Some say that the water-supply is bad as it is drawn from the Moat and from contaminated wells; while others would lay it to the door of malodorous, insanitary drains. Probably, both opinions are correct; but I wish to confine myself to the discussion about the Shwetachaung and the Moat.

I remember seeing Mandalay under three different *régimes* : (i) under Mindôn Min in the early seventies ; (ii) under Thibaw in the early eighties, and (iii) under British rule. I must say that the Burmese capital looked its best, and was the most prosperous and the healthiest under Mindôn Min. Mandalay was then flanked by the Aungpinlè and Nanda lakes on the east, and by the Shwetachaung, Thingaza, and Irrawaddy on the west ; and the Fort itself was encircled by the Moat, whose water was changed at least once a year, and was always kept fresh and clean. The Shwetachaung was then a perennial stream ; there was much traffic on its waters ; and, in my mind's eye, I could see men, women, and children disporting themselves on its banks. When there was so much water about, the country was well wooded and green, and the natural heat of the sun was much tempered by the vast mass of water and the foliage of the trees.

When Thibaw succeeded to his father's kingdom in 1878, he spent his time and energies in finding a "short cut" to power and wealth. He opened lotteries. He granted monopolies. The result was, the whole country became disorganised and demoralised. All public works were neglected ; and, in the general ruin and decay, the Shwetachaung became a dried-up *nullah*. As a matter of self-preservation, he, however, still paid some attention to the Moat. Its water was changed once every year in the month of April and the people living in the neighbourhood stored up the surplus water that was thrown out in small tanks and other reservoirs in their compounds, and utilised it in watering their trees and shrubs.

The Shwetachaung and Moat have fared badly under British rule. The former was turned into an open sewer from A to D Roads, *i.e.*, a distance of about two miles. For years, the Municipality has dumped its rubbish into it ; and for nearly twenty years the fish market of the Zegyo bazaar was astride it. No attempt has been made to drain it, or to make it sweet and clean ; and, at present, it is the repository of all kinds of evil smells under the sun. I look upon it as the *fons et origo* of plague or any other epidemic with which Mandalay may be visited ; and I make bold to prophesy that, so long as it is allowed to remain in its present foul and filthy condition, it will be a standing menace to the public health of Mandalay. There are two ways of reclaiming the Shwetachaung : (i) by deepening its present channel and leading, through it to the Irrawaddy river, water obtained from the Sèdaw Canal ; (ii) by throwing fresh earth into the-channel flush with its banks, and

by providing for the necessary drainage. The second alternative is the cheaper of the two; but the first, which will take time and money, will be the better one from a sanitary and economical point of view.

The water in the Moat has been stagnant all these years. It is replenished with rain water from time to time, and the bed is silting up. The Moat is the source of the water supply to thousands of people living round Fort Dufferin. In March and April, and till the rains fall, the water in it is a viscid, yellowish fluid, which is scarcely fit for human consumption. It rests with the Municipality to arrange with the Irrigation Department to have the water in the Moat changed, as often as possible.

Owing to the shrinkage of the area covered by water, the climate of Mandalay is hotter now than it was about thirty years ago. This greater heat has been intensified by the change in the style of buildings. Formerly, most buildings were constructed of bamboo and thatch, and they were cool and airy; but now, owing to the prohibition of inflammable materials within Municipal limits, houses are roofed with corrugated iron, which is a flagrant sin against both health and æsthetics; and Government set an example by roofing its Telegraph Office with this hideous material. People practically live in oven-like arrangements, and their health cannot be very good. Like adding insult to injury, the Municipality rebuilt the Zegyo bazaar like a huge oven, and provided it with a corrugated iron roof. About two or three thousand people are employed in it, and they have to undergo daily untold suffering during the hot weather months. I think something should be done, and that, as soon as possible, to relieve such suffering, due to the unrestricted and uncontrolled use of corrugated iron for purposes of roofing and walling.

Since the 2nd April, we have had several showers of rain, and the atmosphere has been cooled down several degrees. With strong gales of wind and showers of rain, I have every reason to hope that plague would abate materially at Mandalay; but it cannot be eradicated unless something is done to the Shwetachaung and the Moat.

BURMESE VILLAGE ORGANIZATION.

CAPTAIN F. C. OWENS, Settlement Officer, Pakòkku enquired about the derivation of the Burmese words 'Thwethauk', 'Thwethaukkyi', 'Tan', and 'Tangaung'. I replied as follows: "The terms 'Thwethauk' and 'Thwethaukkyi' are of military origin, while 'Tan' and 'Tangaung' are of civil origin. The Burmese military organization consisted of—

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| 5 soldiers | ... | 1 mess; |
| 2 messes | (10 men) | = 1 squad; |
| 5 squads | (50 men) | = 1 thwethauk or company; |
| 2 companies | (100 men) | = 1 double company. |

Each 'thwethauk' was commanded by a 'Thwethaukkyi' and each *Tat* or double company by a *Tathmu* or centurion. The division was, like in the ancient Roman army, based on a decimal system, or on ten and multiples of ten. Hence "Ywas" were grouped into ten or twenty 'thwethauks'.

Feudalism prevailed in Burma. In time of war, military contingents had to be supplied by each *Wun* or Governor according to the strength or capacity of his district. The fact that the 'Thwethaukkyi' possessed no revenue powers, and that the designation was introduced into the Pakòkku District not more than 70 or 80 years ago, indicates that military levies were supplied by the Pagan *Wun* to King Bagyidaw during the first Anglo-Burmese War of 1824-26. When peace was declared, the military control imposed upon these contingents was withdrawn, but the military jurisdiction exercised over them was turned into a civil jurisdiction. Hence a 'Thwethaukkyi' was not a revenue officer, but a judicial officer.

Under the Burmese *régime*, both *athis* and *ahmudans* were liable to be pressed into military service in times of emergency, and the latter more so than the former. In the first Anglo-Burmese War, when national independence was at stake, no nice distinction could be made between the two classes.

The term 'Thwethaukkyi' is common in the north of Shwebo, because that locality afforded the nucleus of his power to Alaungpaya, the Founder of the last Burmese dynasty, and also up the Chindwin, because feudal contingents were quartered there.

'Thwethauk' means to drink blood. In primitive times, a

fictitious consanguinity was created among combatants on the same side by drawing blood, by means of a puncture made on the tips of the fingers or the arm of the right hand, and by drinking it, after mixing it with spirits, and after making a solemn asseveration that the participants of the ceremony would support each other through thick and thin, as if they were brothers born of the same parents. A group of these 'blood-drinkers' would be formed into a company commanded by a 'Thwethaukkyi'. The ceremony of 'drinking blood' for purposes of a united defence or offence is still prevalent among the Chins, Kachins and Karens.

'Tan' means, primarily, a line or row and, secondly, a location or quarter assigned to a particular community. One of its earliest significations is the parallel row of houses abutting on a single road-way. Most Burmese villages consist of a parallel row of houses, with a road between the two rows. Each of these villages was occupied by members of the same clan, nationality, or profession, and would be placed under a 'Tangaung'. As population grew, the number of cognate villages would also grow. The 'Tangaung' would naturally be the most influential of the *thugyis* in the 'tan', because he is supposed to represent the head of the clan, nationality or profession. At Bhamo, the headman of the Chinese quarter, which consists of a parallel row of houses, is called the 'Tangaung', and he is the head of the community of that particular quarter.

In the case of 'Tan', the multiple employed is not that of ten, but of two or a pair, which bespeaks its civil origin.

WESTERN EDUCATION AND INDIAN AGITATION (1908).

IN the recent debate in the House of Lords on Indian affairs, Lord Curzon is reported to have said: "The internal conditions in India are a subject of much greater anxiety. Foremost among the causes of unrest are our ill-adapted system of education and the ferment which exists everywhere in Asia due to Japan's victory over Russia." To this Lord Morley replied he felt sure that any Government or Viceroy going to the roots of the present conditions would devote the utmost power to the revision of the educational system. One remarkable result of the State-aided system of education, which has been in vogue for the last 50 years, has been the weakening of

the religious sense and the consequent supersession of altruism by egoism. Further, Eastern ideals, which associate learning and virtue with poverty and abnegation, which extol suffering and self-mortification as leading to spiritual bliss, and which impose an obligation of mutual help within the family circle, have given way to notions of material luxury, comfort, and pleasure, and of an intensified form of individualism. While the Indian character has undergone a great change, the number of Oriental scholars among the European officials has dwindled down, and sympathy, which is begotten of a deep knowledge of the language, history, literature, religion, and customs of a people, becomes somewhat circumscribed in its activities.

It is left to experts to devise reforms and remedies, and every well-wisher of India hopes that the present agitation will pass away. In Lord Morley we have a philosophic statesman, who is firm, just and imperturbable, and who possesses a wide and unparalleled experience of public affairs, and sufficient mental detachment to diagnose correctly the symptoms and to apply the right remedy. Lord Minto is no less sound in his judgment and wide in his sympathy, and his intimate knowledge of India and her various nationalities is based upon a long residence and actual experience. There is every reason to believe that, through the untiring efforts of these two great statesmen, the ship of State will soon glide from her present troubled waters to a haven of peace and bliss.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A NATIVE MEMBER TO THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—I (JANUARY 1909).

LORD MORLEY'S Indian Reform scheme provides for the appointment of a Native Member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy as well as to those of Bombay and Madras and of some other Provinces. The proposal has met with a good deal of criticism both in the Press and Parliament. In the House of Lords, Lord MacDonnell sounded a note of warning and voiced the opinion of the majority of Anglo-Indians, when he said that the principle which, in his opinion, ought to direct and control our policy in India was this: the maintenance of complete and absolute control in the hands of a small body of picked officers of the Empire who formed the Government of India, and, subject to that control, the fullest measure of local government in the provinces that each province was fit to

administer. He believed they could not find in India a single individual who would be able to give valuable advice and assistance to the Governor-General in Council. He was also certain that they could not appoint a Mahomedan to that Council without also appointing a Hindu; and if they did appoint such an officer, and he were not of the class against whom the legislation of which they had heard was directed, he would command no influence whatever amongst his co-religionists.

Lord MacDonnell's speech involves three assumptions; (i) that the *status quo ante* of the Government of India should be maintained, and that the racial test should continue to be employed in the selection of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council; (ii) that there is, at present, no native gentleman who is qualified by education, character, attainments and service to fill the proposed appointment; and (iii) that the jealousy, suspicion and tension between the representatives of Islamism and Hinduism are so great, that it would be utterly useless to appoint only a Mahomedan or Hindu to the Council. One of the fundamental maxims laid down by Lord Morley is the abolition of the racial test, as the religious test has been abolished in England many years ago, and the association of qualified Natives in the Government of the country. Lord Curzon used to taunt the Indian public with the remark that administrative talent was the sole monopoly of the British race, while Mr. Gokhale and other leaders of the native communities used to complain that, under British Rule, as now constituted, no Indian could rise to the full height of his stature, and that the days of Akbar and the other Moghal Emperors could not be recalled, when Moslem and Hindu stood shoulder to shoulder to work for their common fatherland. Lord Morley has never ceased to be a student, and he possesses the courage and statesmanship to apply the lessons of history to practical politics, and he deserves the hearty support of all well-wishers of India in the bold and striking experiment he is going to make. As regards the second assumption that there is no qualified Native to fill the post, it may be remarked that the country, which produced such men as Raja Toda Mall, Sir Salar Jung, and Telang, may be expected to possess men of similar mental calibre. When the hour comes, the man for the occasion must arise. Whoever expected that Clive, Warren Hastings, Napoleon, or Disraeli would find a niche in the Temple of Fame? The third assumption regarding the application of the religious test is quite irrelevant as the matter is not under consideration.

Whether a Native Member is to be a Mahomedan, Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist, that is not the question. It will be sufficient if he is a native of the country, who will be qualified by his birth and environment, as well as by his character and education, to bridge the ever widening gulf between the rulers and the ruled. His highest qualification will be that he will be able to place himself in the circumstances of his countrymen and to sympathise with them in their cares and anxieties, and to devise means for ameliorating their condition. His accessibility to all would be the first thing that would be highly appreciated.

It was expected that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, an eminent lawyer, who was President of the recent Indian Congress held in Madras, would be selected for the portfolio of law, when Mr. Erle Richards was appointed to succeed Sir Francis Maclean, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court. Lord Morley has now decided, it is stated, to send out to the Calcutta High Court Sir Lawrence Jenkins, a member of his own Council, who has served with distinction in the Bombay High Court; so speculation is still rife as to the portfolio to be held by a native Member. The memberships for Finance and Industry and Commerce have recently been filled, and, as the Military Member must be a European Official, there is only one other portfolio which may possibly be held by a Native official, and that is, the Home Membership now held with great ability, courage, and distinction by Sir Harvey Adamson.

The name of Messrs. Amir All and Gokhale were mentioned when there were vacancies on the Secretary of State's Council. Their candidature is now put forward by their friends in connection with the Native membership. As in the case of Messrs. Gupta and Syed Bilgrami, who were appointed to the India Office Council, in preference to publicists or leaders of the Indian Congress, the probabilities are that some comparatively unknown native gentleman, of approved ability and integrity, who is endowed with tact, common sense, and a sound judgment, will be appointed whenever there is a vacancy on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Too much care cannot be exercised in making such a selection, because on the work of the nominee depends the success of Lord Morley's experiment, which is a bold departure from the Anglo-Indian traditions of the past.

The Home portfolio would be particularly appropriate for a Native Member. It is not concerned with questions of law, finance, or diplomacy, its special province being Crime and

Education, about which we hear so much in connection with Indian agitation and sedition. An appreciable reduction in crime by introducing such salutary measures as would be welcomed by native opinion, a firm and effective control of the native Press by enlisting its co-operation on the side of law and order, a reform in educational methods which would satisfy the requirements and aspirations of the people, the cultivation of friendly relations and social intercourse with eminent leaders of native thought—these functions would occupy the energies and talents of a Native Member.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A NATIVE MEMBER TO
THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—II.
(FEBRUARY 1909).

ALL friends of India have read with delight Lord Morley's statesman-like reply, as reported by Reuter on the 28th January to the Mahomedan deputation headed by Messrs. Amir Ali and Syed Hussain Bilgrami, which urged on him (i) that the Mahomedan member of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected, by exclusive Mahomedan electoral Colleges, and (ii) that there should be one Mahomedan and one Hindu representative on the Viceroy's Executive Council. His Lordship was prepared to admit the principle of exclusive electoral Colleges at two of the stages of the election, but on the latter point, he made a firm stand and refused to be moved either by argument or entreaty. His reasoning, which is very sound, is that, if there were two Indians on the Executive Council, one third of its strength would be Indian, and that the object of his recommendation is to redeem the famous promise of Queen Victoria's proclamation that neither race nor creed should debar a man of the requisite ability from rising to the highest offices of trust and responsibility. Two serious objections may be raised against the compliance with the requests of the deputation: first, the religious or social antagonism between the Mahomedans and Hindus would be perpetuated, and a barrier would be placed against the creation of a healthy spirit of nationalism, which is a great factor of progress; and second, a disproportionate strength of the Indian element on the Council would effect the paramountcy of British rule in India. It is not intended that the Indian representative should wield a preponderating influence; but he will serve as the sensitive part of a delicate

organism, which will be responsive to tactful pressure exercised by the varied Native communities of India.

It has not yet been disclosed what portfolio will be entrusted to the proposed Indian Member. General Scott, the Military Supply Member, whose appointment has been abolished, retires on the 1st April next, and it is probable that his seat will be given to the Native Member with new duties to perform. Such duties are likely to be the reorganisation of educational methods and the supervision of the Native Press, and the new portfolio may well be called that of Education or Public Instruction. Indeed, for some time past, the expediency of creating such a portfolio has been urged with more or less persistency both upon Parliament and the Secretary of State for India. In some native circles, Dr. Asutosh Mukerji, C.I.E., Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has been mentioned in connection with the new appointment. No better selection could be made, as the learned gentleman is an officer of ability and approved service, who would, no doubt, be in a position to co-ordinate the educational methods prevailing throughout the Indian Empire and put them on a firm and salutary basis with reference to the condition and requirements of each Province. He would also be in close touch with the leaders of the Indian Congress, the representatives of the Mahomedans, the prominent editors of the Native Press, whose voice has now become a potential factor in shaping the political destinies of the country, and the leaders of the religious sects, who have been feeling the impotence of their status under British rule. In making the appointment, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy would have to face the taunt of the Mahomedans that a special favour and marked partiality have been shown to the Hindus, as well as the cry that their religious and political interests are in jeopardy. Such complaints may well be left unheeded, for the present, as it is impossible to satisfy everybody in carrying out far-reaching reforms. The Mahomedans may console themselves that their time will come and they should heartily lend their assistance and co-operation to the Government of India, which are so anxious to benefit both the Mahomedan and the Hindu and to accord them an equal and impartial treatment.

LAND ALIENATION AND TENANCY BILLS.

THE decline in business during the past year has been ascribed, in certain quarters, to the socialistic tendencies of the Local Government in having the above two Bills drafted for the amelioration of the Burmese people. I have been studying the report of the Administration of Burma for 1907-08 in order to ascertain the real causes of such a decline, and the following appears to me some of the causes.

Since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, the money market has been tight all over the world. There have been failures of banks and mercantile houses in the Straits Settlements, in China, Japan, the United States, Russia, and India, and Burma can scarcely escape from the general crisis. Further, the prolonged famine, drought, and plague in India have affected us adversely in Burma. In paragraph 95, page 31, of the Report occurs the following passage: "Under mortgages there was a sudden drop from 22,889 instruments valued at 365 lakhs to 16,730 instruments valued at 260 lakhs. The falling off is very generally attributed to the effect of the Financial Commissioner's Circular No. 4 of 1906, which prescribes measures for enforcing the prohibition or transfer of land in contravention of the conditions of the lease of grant under which it is held, and for resuming land on a squatter's tenure when it has been transferred to a non-agriculturist." In Rangoon, the decrease is ascribed partly to the increasing resort to the practice of the acceptance as security of title deeds without a registered instrument, partly to the failure of some Chetty firms and partly to the greater frequency of transfers of mortgages. Chetty firms are noted for their honesty, capacity, and stability, but it would be a miracle if they could escape from the crisis prevailing in India and the Straits Settlements. They withdrew their advances in order to ascertain their assets and liabilities rather than owing to the alleged scare due to the proposed legislation.

Burma is an agricultural country, and its prosperity depends on a normal rainfall and the condition of the crops. In 1907, owing to drought, the agricultural season in Upper Burma was a bad one; but in Lower Burma, the final estimate of the rice crop was 90 per cent. of the normal (paragraph 123, page 41). In consequence, the prices of cereals ruled very high, and, "in Lower Burma exceptionally high prices were paid for the paddy required for the export market" (paragraph 118, page 39). In order to enable the peasantry to tide over

their difficulties, agricultural advances were made to the extent of Rs. 9,73,968, and the establishment of Co-operative Credit Societies was fostered till their number had increased from 40 to 81 (paragraph 120, page 40).

For the above reasons, it would appear that the capitalists did not reap so rich a harvest from agriculturists, as in former years, and they were much disappointed.

There is, however, a bright side to the picture. The value of the sea-borne trade of Burma for the year ending the 31st March 1908, was 56.39 crores, and surpassed all previous records. To this figure, Rangoon contributed 11.06 crores under imports, and 14.13 crores under exports (paragraphs 147, 148, 150, pages 49-50).

The conclusion which one may safely draw from the above statistics is that, during the past year, those who dealt in agricultural produce were badly hit owing to plague, famine, and drought and the general tightness of the money market all over the world, while the export and import merchants realized profits to an appreciable extent, and that the land legislation proposed by the Local Government cannot be said to have, as yet, produced any effect, beneficial or otherwise.

CONFIDENTIAL REPORTS ON GOVERNMENT OFFICERS, (1909).

THE liability to be reported upon confidentially, at least once a year, and the absence of any right to refute charges made behind one's back, have hitherto weighed as a heavy incubus on all members of the official hierarchy in Burma. This incubus has now been removed by the Lieutenant Governor, who has at heart the interest and welfare of all officers, and who is anxious to promote honesty, efficiency, good will, and contentment in all the Departments under his control (*vide* Local Government Circular No. 10 of 1909, which appeared in the *Burma Gazette* of 6th February 1909). The new rule runs as follows :

"When any remark so unfavourable as to affect, or to be likely to affect, an officer's prospects of promotion is recorded by his Commissioner, or, in the case of judicial officers, by his Divisional Judge, or by any officer superior to the Commissioner or Divisional Judge as the case may be, a copy of the remark will be communicated by the Local Government to the officer

concerned. Any explanation from the officer concerned should be submitted to the Local Government through the usual channel, but no reply will ordinarily be sent thereto."

Service under Government is of two kinds, namely, personal service and public service, and the value attached to each varies according to the idiosyncrasy of different superior officers. Once a Deputy Commissioner, who had just been transferred to new station, visited the headquarters of an English-speaking Burmese Subdivisional Officer of over twenty years' standing. The latter was a very good revenue, judicial, and executive officer, and had a great reputation of being one of the honest and hard-working officials; but he had the ill luck to incur the displeasure of his superior because he had omitted to have the dak bungalow swept and to have it provided with water, fuel, grass, etc. The Deputy Commissioner reported that his subordinate was discourteous, insolent, and disobedient, and secured his transfer to a less healthy district. On another occasion, a Burmese Myoók, who had a low exchequer, could not afford to give a sufficiently attractive *buckshoesh* to the Indian butler of a Commissioner, whose *entourage* had already fleeced him. The wily Madrassi, in order to be revenged upon the luckless Myoók, served up bad eggs and sour milk at his master's *chota hazari*, on the following morning, and informed him that no better things could be obtained from the Township Officer. The Commissioner sent for the Myoók at once and reprimanded him most severely for supplying such bad commissariat. In the next confidential report, a big black mark was put against the Myoók and the tone of the inspection note on his Court was not of a commendatory character. Such instances could be multiplied *ad infinitum*; and all Government officers, especially Burmans, must welcome the new circular whose *raison d'être* is to substitute a *régime* of reason and justice for that of caprice and idiosyncrasy.

Again, officers are often reported confidentially for bribery and corruption, the bribes being accepted by the wives, sisters, or other dependants of the officers concerned. Sometimes, local lawyers would receive bribes on behalf of the presiding Judges. In certain cases, the officers themselves are quite innocent; but a black mark is set against them in the confidential reports for the delinquencies of third parties. Under the present circular, an opportunity will be afforded to all officers, who happen to be under a cloud, to set their house in order, and to clear themselves from all suspicion.

Now that statutory Natives of India, whether Europeans, Eurasians, or Burmans, can aspire, through the thoughtful efforts of Sir Herbert White, to rise to be Deputy Commissioners, District Judges, and District Superintendents of Police, it is to be hoped that the provincial standard of honesty and efficiency will be raised, and that the circular in question will tend to the contentment and peace of mind of the entire official hierarchy, and, above all, to its purity and incorruptibility.

BURMANS AND LOCAL INDUSTRIES (1909).

AS commerce is the life-blood of nations, so money is the life-blood of individuals. In settled communities, where law, order, and justice prevail, the power of money is a determining factor in the transactions of life in the same way as physical force is the supreme arbiter of one's destiny in loosely organised societies, which are swayed by caprice, arbitrariness, and human passion. After over half a century of British rule, which has secured to the country freedom from war and bloodshed and the frequent changes of dynasties, these established facts of sociology have scarcely dawned upon the minds of the Burmans. Amongst them, the power and use of accumulated wealth are not understood. The majority of the Burmans are still devoted to the pursuit of agriculture, which affords them six months' leisure in the year. As in the days of Alompra and other Kings, they are as eager to join Government service and to eke out a scanty living. Large numbers of them, both men and women, take holy orders and become Buddhist monks and nuns. The result of such a state of affairs is most disastrous from an economic point of view because there is a great disproportion between producers and consumers. The trade of the country, the banking and carrying business, and the industries have passed into the hands of Europeans, Indians, and Chinese, and the process will go on till, like the Malays in the Straits Settlements, the Burmans are relegated to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water and are treated like aliens in their own native land.

Cannot something be done to arrest such a national decadence? Will not the leading men of the Burmese community come forward to ameliorate the condition of their fellow-countrymen? If sericulture, which has regained much lost ground in Japan, China, Siam, and India, is tabooed by

Buddhism, the weaving industry, which has hitherto been one of the main national handicrafts, should be revived, improved, and organised, by starting companies and calling for shares limited to small sums. In India the Salvation Army is devoting its attention to this industry, and the industrial conferences held at various centres have brought it into prominence. Dairy-farming, fruit-cultivation, the breeding of cattle and ponies, which are equally innocuous in the eyes of Buddhism, could be taken up with great advantage. In order to meet the growing requirements imposed by Western civilisation, the manufacture of the following articles would also prove to be remunerative: matches, cigarettes, paper, pencils, printing ink, perfumery, soap, hosiery, boots, shoes, umbrellas, glass, biscuits, sugar, jam, marmalade, and preserved fruit. There is abundant labour, and sufficient capital could be collected together; but men with an organising brain, whose character, education, common-sense and judgment inspire the public with confidence, are not yet forthcoming.

In Calcutta, the Bengalis have established a Society called the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education in India, and recently a hundred scholarships were awarded by the Association, of which 25 were tenable in England, 17 in Japan, 3 in Germany, one in Sweden, one in Canada, 4 in America, and 49 in one country or another in Europe. A similar association might be formed in Burma, and the selected students might be sent to England and Japan for their technical training.

INDIAN AGITATION (1909).

AN extensive literature is growing up around the subject, which is treated either as a local irritation or as a phase of the awakening of Asia. All writers and speakers are, however, agreed, that, for the last fifty years, under the auspices of the British Government, new wine has been poured into old bottles, which are near bursting. In other words, the British rulers have fostered, through the Western system of education, new aspirations in their native subjects, which have not been fully satisfied. One aspect of the question does not appear to have been considered, and that is, the weakening of the religious sense and the supersession of Oriental altruism by Occidental egoism. Eastern ideals, which associate learning and virtue

with poverty and abnegation, which extol suffering and self-mortification as leading to spiritual bliss, and which impose an obligation of mutual help within the family circle, have given way to the Western notions of material luxury, comfort and pleasure, and of an intensified form of individualism. The remedy for such a state of affairs seems to be to revive in the minds of the natives a love for their own religions and literatures, which have taken centuries for their development, and which are the product of their own peculiar environment.

The visits paid by natives of India to England for their professional education do not, on the whole, produce encouraging results. The atmosphere of Bloomsbury Square or the Seven Dials does not agree with their physical or moral health, and they consort with Radicals and Socialists, and imbibe the views of the Irish Home Rulers. On their return home, they have to undergo certain humiliating ceremonies to be re-instated in their caste rights and privileges. Now that the Military Staff College has been created at Quetta, which could turn out qualified candidates, who are on an equal footing with those of Camberley College, could not an institution be established in India on the lines of the late Haileybury College, which could train Natives of India for the Civil Service?

In India, a distinction is made between the Imperial Service and the Provincial Service, according to the locality where the members are educated and engaged. It would reduce the number of natives who are anxious to complete their education in England, and would produce immense satisfaction throughout the country, if selected natives, who are distinguished for their talent, ability and character are appointed to the Imperial Service and invested with the full powers and privileges of that service. At present, there is an iron-bound caste barrier between the two services, and the system does not tend to efficiency or contentment. Such a practice of advancing character and talent, irrespective of creed or nationality, as contemplated by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, was followed by the Mughals under Akbar, and is still followed by the United States, France, Russia and China.

Every effort should be made to conciliate the educated classes, who are the "salt of the earth", and not a "microscopic minority" as stated by Lord Curzon in one of his speeches. They are the natural leaders of the people, who have great confidence and trust in them; and the masses look to them for help and guidance in times of stress and storm.

For some years past, there has been a marked estrangement or alienation between the British rulers and their subjects, as noticed by Lord Morley in his speech at the United Service Club in London, and socially, there is an insurmountable barrier between the two. The outward signs of the widening chasm are the exclusion of natives from European clubs, the repugnance to travel together on steamers and trains, and the practical desertion of the Indian Institute at Oxford by undergraduates.

The number of Oriental scholars among officials has been dwindling, and the Civil Servants, who have chosen an Indian career, are not noted for their Oriental learning. While the natives have made enormous strides in their knowledge of English history, politics, and science, their European rulers do not find it necessary to acquire any wide acquaintance with Indian lore, and that sympathy, which is begotten of a deep knowledge of the language, history, literature, religion and custom of the people, becomes much circumscribed in its activities. Such alienation is reflected in the Press, both English and Indian, as well as on the platform, and matters are exaggerated and magnified beyond all reasonable limits.

It must be admitted that there have been faults on both sides, the principal of which are being irresponsive to criticism on the part of the rulers, and the inability to understand and appreciate the object of certain measures on the part of the native public; and it is to be hoped that the present agitation, if handled properly, will soon pass away. In Lord Morley we have a philosophic statesman, who is firm, just, and imperturbable, and who possesses a wide and unparalleled experience of public affairs, and sufficient mental detachment to diagnose correctly the symptoms and to apply the right remedy. Lord Minto is no less sound in his judgment and wide in his sympathy, and his intimate knowledge of India and her various nationalities is based upon a long residence and actual experience. In these two great statesmen, we have a happy combination of theory and practice, and there is every reason to believe that they will succeed in steering the ship of State from the present troubled waters to a haven of peace and bliss. The Indian Councils reform scheme, which will come into operation early next year, is the first fruits of their combined labour, and far-reaching results, producing contentment and prosperity, are expected of it.

BURMANS AND INDIANS (1913).

CERTAIN evidence given before the Public Services Commission gave rise to an impression that Burmans have a prejudice against Indians. The question arises as to whether such a prejudice should be tolerated by the Government of India. The question may be considered from several stand-points, namely, historical, administrative, and social. The different portions of what we now know as Burma were incorporated in the British Indian Empire after the wars of 1824, 1852, and 1885; and the effluxion of time has not yet been sufficient to enable the Burmans to appreciate their political status as citizens of the Indian Empire. Such an appreciation connotes a liberal education and wide travelling, which undoubtedly impart ideas of cosmopolitanism and the brotherhood of mankind. In common with the ancient Greeks, who applied the term "Barbaros" to all those living beyond the pale of their civilisation; in common with the ancient Hindus, who designated as "Mlecchas" all the peoples who differed from them in race, creed, and colour; and, in common with the modern Malays of the Malay Peninsula, who call "Klings" all those who have immigrated from India, be they Bengalis, Oorayas, Madrasis, Punjabis, Mahrattas, Parsis, or Mughals; the Burmans use the designation "kala" with reference to all nationalities, who have come over from India, be they Indians or Europeans. The word "Kalamagaung," the head of a female "kala" *i. e.*, Queen Victoria, still lingers on in popular vocabulary as signifying a stamp, whether it be postage or judicial. It is to be hoped that such a feeling of antipathy on the part of Burmans will not be crystallised into a national trait of character, but that, in course of time, with the help of education and travel, it will disappear or be toned down considerably.

In social matters, it is true, that Burmans and Indians are wide apart. In intimate social intercourse, the determining factors are intermarriage, interdining, and the visiting together of temples and churches. These factors are absent in the social intercourse of Burmans with Indians, while they are present in that of Burmans with Europeans and Anglo-Indians. A Burman is seldom admitted into a mosque or a Hindu temple, and much less to an Indian religious function, while all pagodas and Buddhist religious functions are open to all the nationalities of the world. Praiseworthy efforts have been made in India to bridge the gulf of separation between different sections of the Hindus, and between the Mahomedans and

the Hindus, and, so far, they have been attended with success. It now rests with the leaders of the Burmese, Hindu, and Mahomedan communities to initiate and organise similar efforts in Burma, so that the ties of friendship and brotherhood, as fellow-citizens of a common Empire, may be drawn closer and tighter to the advantage of all the communities concerned, as well as in the interest of the Indian Empire.

There is no doubt that Burma has greatly benefited herself by her Indian connection. Her letters, art, religion, and civilisation were, in a large measure, derived from India; and even, at the present day, Burmese commerce draws a good portion of its life-blood from Indian capital, Indian enterprise, and Indian organisation. The reforms carried out in India at the instance of Indian reformers, like the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, in the matter of the extended employment of natives of India in appointments reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service, and in other matters, are applicable to Burma, which is an integral part of the Indian Empire. For such excellent services rendered to Burma by the Indians in the past, the Burmans would, no doubt, be most happy to join in any movement that may be made in order to create a better understanding between themselves and the Indians, and to improve the present condition of their social intercourse.

THE THIRTY-SIX ANIMAL LOTTERY.

MR. CROSTHWAITE, in his able resolution on the report of violent crime in British Burma for the second quarter of 1883, attributes the present deplorable state of the province to the defect in the administrative machinery, the want of co-operation on the part of the people, and, lastly, to the want of mutual help rendered to one another by the District and the Police officers. We believe that, when he was drafting the above Resolution, the Chief Commissioner was not aware of the great changes which had been slowly but surely taking place in the social organization of the people since Lower Burma passed into British hands. In the first place, we would instance the great influence which the foreign element has on the character and habits of the Burmese people. Most of the old residents in Burma must have observed with great anxiety, how the simple, mirth-loving, careless, improvident and open-handed people of **Lord Dalhousie's** days have been changed into that indolent, desperate and predatory people

among whom we are now living. They must have observed, too, how the Burmese have copied the vices and not the virtues of the foreigners with whom they have come in contact. Pre-eminently on the list of such foreign agencies at work in the Province, the Chinese element decidedly stands in bold relief. The celestials, wherever they go—whether to Australia, or California or Burma—always carry about with them that indefatigable and unremitting zeal and industry for which they are celebrated; and, as a rule, they seem to be actuated by the Biblical maxim: "Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." We find that whether in the country or in the busy towns, the Chinese is always hard at work at the counter or the gaming-table.

We think that his gambling propensities are brought out into great prominence at the latter. There he is in his element, and the peculiar institutions of the "Flowery Land" seem to have thoroughly fitted him for such an occupation. In China, the government is based on the moral codes of **Confucius** and **Mencius**, in which no special provision whatever appears to have been made for the mental improvement of the people at large. It is true that high literary aspirations are offered to some, but that *some* seems to be a selected few, while the vulgar masses are debarred from all intellectual enjoyment through the encumbrance of the national alphabet. The result is, that, to kill that invisible and cumbersome giant which we call 'Time,' they, like **Louis XIV** of France, tax their brains with devising ingenious methods in the shape of cards, *avidungs*, and 'thirty-six animal lotteries.'

At the present time, a considerable diversity of opinion seems to exist among our law officers, as to the legality or otherwise of keeping "thônzè chauk kaung" or "thirty-six animal lotteries". Our learned Judicial Commissioner, **Mr. J. Jardine**, holds that no cognizance whatever is taken by Law of the above *tis*, and he, therefore, thinks that he is perfectly justified in quashing all the decisions passed by the Lower Courts in such lottery cases when he is sitting as one of the Judges of the Special Court; while another equally learned Judge, **Mr. Allen**, holds a contrary opinion. We venture to believe that these *tis* come within the pale of section 294A of the Indian Penal Code, inasmuch as their keepers offer ensnaring inducements to the unwary public by distributing among the people, through their agents, tabulated forms containing the names of the animals to be staked for, and inasmuch as downright deception is played upon the people to

their great disadvantage, if not to their utter ruin. In most large towns, especially Akyab, Maulmein, Rangoon, Prome and Henzada, some Chinamen may be found clubbing together with that union which is characteristic of their race, and peaceably carrying on the infamous work of opening these lotteries. These astute lottery-keepers have, in their service, a batch of vagabond clerks who go about among the people collecting stake-money, and whose activity in such an avocation is considerably stimulated by their masters offering them ten per cent. on the money collected. Moreover, the Chinaman takes advantage of the superstitious beliefs of the dupes with whom he has to deal, and causes his cringing underlings to spread such rumours as may mislead the people. Some clerks generally give out, in mysterious rhyming couplets, that such and such animal will be 'pauk' or be the winning animal. We have been told, on good authority, that the prize offered being thirty times the money staked, both the rich and the poor generally vie with each other in patronising this lottery. The poor man wants to become rich and the rich man to be richer. How justified was **Lord Byron** in inculcating "that all the desires by which we are cursed lead alike to misery—if they are not gratified, to the misery of disappointment,—if they are gratified, to the misery of satiety."* In most cases, and when the lottery has been just set up, to allure incautious people into his ensnaring net, and lighten their purse, the cunning Chinaman declares the animal winner, which is backed by the greatest number of people. But the unwinding of the line to catch the fish more effectually seems to be more than compensated by the amount of money which subsequently flows into his exchequer. Of course, after this venture, he is wise enough to understand that he has won the hearts of his dupes, and consequently tries all in his power to win their purses also.

Thus the Burmans' money seems to be drained on every side he happens to move. The Revenue Officers bother him about his taxes which have fallen in arrears, the Chinese lottery keeper offers him splendid inducements in his lotteries, and when his purse is empty, to drown his sorrow and misery, he takes to the toddy-pot, samshu-pot or the opium pipe; and finally, if he be a man of strong constitution, shoulders his *da* and marches out of his home to join some dacoit band in the neighbourhood.

In conclusion, we must express our most eager and fervent hope that the Executive Government will rouse itself to make

* Macanlay's Essay on Byron.

such a deplorable state of the Province a thing of the past, and to re-instate the jovial and stoical Burman in his former simpler but less reproachable condition.

THE OPENING OF THE KOKKAING WATER- WORKS.

IT was notified in the local newspapers that the Kôkkaing Reservoir would be formally opened by the Chief Commissioner on Monday, the 19th November 1883, and I made up my mind to be present at the ceremony. Monday morning came, and some of my friends and myself made ourselves ready to start for the reservoir. Owing to some unforeseen and unavoidable causes, our party was not quite ready until the clock had struck eleven. After waiting for about half an hour at the Godwin Road Pick-up Station, the puffing of the Railway engine was heard and soon we found the train alongside the platform. We went into one of the carriages, but how great was our disappointment when we found that it was so overcrowded that it could not receive any more passengers. We tried another and this time fortune seemed to have smiled on us.

One of our friends was there, and he gave us just enough room to stand upon. We noticed that there were more than fifty persons in our carriage and our state with regard to air and comfort can be better imagined than described, for it vividly recalled to our minds the awful description given by Holwell about the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen in the famous Black Hole. At about a quarter to 12 o'clock, we arrived at the Brickfields, and directed our steps towards the Reservoir. Our path lay across parched-up, boggy ground, which had been here and there dug up for the sake of clay. About 20 minutes' walk brought us to our destination. Before going to the active scene of the sports, which were going on, we thought that we had better "fortify our inner man", and accordingly, we entered the nearest stall and had some refreshments. After this we resumed our walk. On our way, we saw many people enjoying their nap under canopies on the left side of the Prome Road; and we saw also a great many carts containing bedding, kitchen utensils, and other requisites for a holiday outing. Being of an inquisitive disposition, we made some inquiries about these pleasure-seekers and we were told that they had spent much money in their expedition to the reservoir and that they did so not so much as to gamble

at the boat races, boxing matches, &c., as—in their parlance—to enjoy the ‘fun’, which our informant further told us consisted in cooking and eating the nice things they had brought and afterwards in boasting what grand sights they had seen. As we were talking on such and similar subjects, we found ourselves just in front of the sheds prepared for the reception of the Chief Commissioner, his suite, and other notabilities. At the time of our arrival, the *Yeinbawè* or the Character Dance—as the Secretary to the Reservoir Opening Committee has been pleased to term it—was going on. With the football energy still predominant in us, we pushed our way through the crowd and fairly placed ourselves in such a position as to command a good view of the dance. We saw a company of young girls, whose ages ranged from about nine to fifteen years, singing in a chorus and dancing to the accompaniment of music which consisted of about two small tom-toms and a sweet tinkling cymbal. In this dance, we noticed that all the girls arranged themselves in a line, and placed their limbs and bodies in various postures in accordance with the sense conveyed by their songs. When the *Panāma*—the praises of the Buddha or the reigning ruler—was sung they placed themselves in a supplicating posture, and when the *Zawgyi-gyo* was sung they imitated the alchemical habits of the *Zawgyi* or *Yogi*. Such a sight is worth seeing as it is not only free from the broad jokes and the queer sights of a common *pwè*, but is also said to be so much similar to the *Pyrrhic* dance of ancient Greece. Next we went to see the “be-jewelled raft” prepared for the reception of the Chief Commissioner and his suite. This raft was formed by lashing a number of bamboos together, and by placing on them a wooden floor surmounted by a *pyatthat*—one of the Burmese emblems of royalty. The inside of this *pyatthat* was decorated with red baize, which colour answers to the Roman Imperial colour; and we saw four chairs placed around a small table, which looked rather like a tea-poy. The front of this raft was adorned with two wickerwork representations of the *Kalaweik* bird—the *Garuda* of Hindoo mythology—and the stern with the bamboo representations of the sterns of two Burmese boats. The construction of this raft, which greatly resembles the real *Kalaweik Paung* of the Burmese King, reflects great credit on the Managing Committee, and their heart-felt enthusiasm in the opening ceremonies of the Reservoir speaks volumes for their good regard and respect for the British Government. On the next day, we wended our way to the shed where boxing and

wrestling were to take place. After waiting for some time, we saw two men, who were fairly well matched, come out into the arena and brandish their legs and arms in the air as a preliminary step before the real death-like struggle. At the sound of the uproarious Burmese music, two champions were seen using their hands both offensively and defensively. One of them was seen to rush madly into the arms of the other with the speed of lightning. They grappled together, and each tried to the utmost of his strength and agility to make the other bleed about the face. Soon, the one was seen to raise his knee and strike the other full on the chest, and the poor injured creature fell almost senseless on the ground. But no blood had been spilt and according to the chivalric laws of the Burmese *Letpwè*—boxing—no decision could be given in favour of any one of the champions unless one of them had bled. So the man, who just now fell down, under the blow of his antagonist, was soon restored to his senses by the votaries who betted on him, and the fighting was resumed. When we saw that the fierce boxers were bent upon shedding the cold blood of each other, we could not help blaming the benign British Government for permitting such cruel sports to take place and thus reviving the gladiatorial institution of heathen Rome. The boat races came off in the afternoon, but, as we had no taste for such sports, we directed our steps homeward fully satisfied that we had not spent our time in vain.

A PLEA FOR BURMESE INDOLENCE.

IN British Burma, as in India, a great social chasm exists between the rulers and the ruled. In any social gathering, or in the very arrangement of a large town, there is an impassable line of demarcation drawn between the two races. The chief cause, which tends to this separation in India, is the caste feeling on the part of the ruled, and the race feeling on the part of the rulers. With regard to Burma the case is quite different. First of all, there is no iron bond of caste among the Burmese, and secondly, they are very sociable and are not at all scrupulous as to the nationality of their associates. This being the case, the great problem before us is—'How should this great social gulf be bridged over?' The first step towards its solution is, I believe, that the rulers and the ruled should rightly study, understand, and appreciate the character of each other. For the attainment of this end, many excellent

works regarding Burma and the Burmese have been written. Nevertheless, I venture to believe that most of them possess one fault: and that is, that their authors base their opinions upon second-hand notions, as they have had little or no opportunity of mixing with the people, whose language, religion, character, manners, and customs, they record. This circumstance, combined with others, has prompted me to undertake a short sketch of a well-marked trait in the Burmese nation.

One thing which will strike a new-comer to Rangoon is, I believe, the comparative paucity of the Burmese, who walk its streets, and who make up the population of the town proper. He will, in vain, look, with wondering eyes, for Burmese mills, and I am sure that, if he is a somewhat philosophical observer, he will naturally put to himself the question, "Although Rangoon is the capital of the Province and the centre of an ever-increasing trade, how is it that the indigenous people seem to take so little part in the commercial, social, and political affairs of their country?" I believe that he has not to go far for the solution of this question. The indubitable reason for the apathy and inactivity of the Burmese population may be found in the somewhat illogical, yet characteristic statement—"The Burmese are naturally an indolent people." In this paper I purpose to trace the indolence of the Burmese to what, I believe, is its true source.

All historians agree in asserting that the habits, manners, customs, and character of a people, are, in a great measure, determined by the geographical position of the country and the climate in which they live. Ancient history affords us many instances in support of this statement. We find that the agricultural life of the Egyptians was determined by the annual overflowing of the Nile, and that the division of Greece into different independent States was partly owing to the mountainous nature of the country and partly to the extent of its sea-board. Since the time of Ptolemy and other ancient geographers, Burma, the *Aurea Regio* or the *Golden Chersonese* of the ancients, has been celebrated for its great wealth and commerce. The tropical soil of Burma groans under the weight of paddy and other agricultural produce. It is but natural then that a people, who are placed in the midst of abundance, and who can consequently get their living with little labour, should be more gay, careless, indolent, and improvident than they otherwise would be. The simple mode of life led by the Burmese has, I believe, a great deal to do in

forming these special characteristics. Let us enter a peasant's hut and see how he lives, and of what his comforts consist. When we enter it, we shall, perhaps, find him seated on a rough bamboo mat enjoying his pipe or cigar. He looks robust, swarthy, healthy, and contented. Let us examine his furniture, and we shall find that he does not care to have tables, chairs, or other articles of luxurious living; a blanket, a mat, a pillow, and, perhaps, a stool and a bench are all the furniture he can boast of. Next, if we watch him at his meal, we shall be driven to the conclusion that a Burman peasant can defy poverty and want so long as he has a few handfuls of rice and a modicum of *ngapi*.

It has been observed that the Burmans are improvident, and, consequently, impecunious. Buddhism teaches them that "charity is virtue," but it does not seem to enjoin upon its votaries that they should always exercise discretion in giving charity; and the result is, that Buddhists are generally indiscriminate as to the recipients of their charity, and the mode in which it is to be administered. Consequently, in Burma, as far as able-bodied beggars are concerned, charity, instead of serving to ameliorate the condition of the poor and the diseased, who cannot work for themselves, is employed for the support of those who can work, thereby encouraging indolence and vice. The improvidence and indolence of the Burmese may be attributed to other religious causes also. They believe that every creature in this world is predestined to play a certain part in the world's stage, and, therefore, they say that their *kan* or destiny will provide for them by an unerring law! I am of opinion, however, that this popular confidence in the workings of the principle of *kan* or predestination is quite contrary to the doctrines of Buddhism. All Buddhists admit that the human mind is but an atom when compared with the omniscience of the Buddha, and how can it be possible that this little speck of mind should be able to disclose the mysterious secrets of previous existences long gone by? In spite of the all-knowing attribute generally given to the Buddha staring them in their face, the Burmese will still tenaciously hold to a groundless belief. They will say that they need not work hard to acquire wealth as it will eventually come of itself in virtue of merit accumulated in their previous existences. But the question on which this belief is based seldom or never occurs to their mind; that question being.—"By what evidence are they to justify their inactivity and confirm their belief in *kan*?"

I shall now turn from religious to political causes which bear on the subject in hand. The following remarks will not, of course, apply to Lower Burma, but as this portion of Burma passed into British hands only about a quarter of a century ago, and, as social reforms, like geological formations, generally undergo a very slow process, I hope my remarks will not be out of place.

Most of us know that a Burmese King is feared, revered, adored, and worshipped like a god. His will is the law of the land; and no sooner a mandate escapes his royal lips than his *Wungyis*, his worthy ministers, will fly with the swiftness of the wind to carry it out. Where a King is so absolute as the 'Lord of the White Elephant,' we should not be surprised when we are told that the King claims the possession of all State property. The Royal Exchequer is, therefore, like a great charity-box of the King, who, to promote his selfish interests, tries all in his power to have it replenished as soon as it is nigh empty. Under such a Government, we cannot but naturally expect that the safety of life and property is not ensured. Moreover, when the taxes levied are unduly proportionate to the wealth of the persons who pay them, there can exist no striving after wealth or desire for personal distinction. Contentment, therefore, with the amount of wealth they have acquired and with the social status they have attained, is, as it were, forced upon the people; and the natural result of this is, that they are indifferent as to the amount of energy they put forth in striving after personal distinction, so long as there are *kyaungs* and *zayats* in the country where they can always obtain food and shelter.

The last, and the most important, cause that encourages indolence and apathy in the Burmese may, I believe, be found in the unsoundness of education. The system of Burmese education hitherto pursued, rather forms the mind, than forms the character and raises its tone. It consists in merely loading the memory at the expense of other faculties with religious facts and principles which are more useful to a recluse than to one who should fight the battle of life. It is, therefore, fervently hoped that, with the advent of Western civilization and education, the value of energy and noble emulation in industry and learning will be more and more appreciated, and that the expansion of the intellect will progress side by side with the improvement of morality.

A WORD FOR BURMESE WOMEN.

Ferdinando—No, precious creature ;

I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,

Than you should such dishonour undergo,

While I sit lazy by.

Miranda.—It would become me

As well as it does you : and I should do it

With much more ease ; for my good will is to it,

And yours it is against.

Tempest.

IN the sketch entitled 'a Plea for Burmese Indolence', I regret to observe that the term 'Burmese' is not at all defined, and one is at a complete loss to understand whether or not we should include both sexes under it. If I have my own way in the matter, I would call the men Burmese, and the women by some other name, so different are they from the former; for, is it not well-known that the 'better half' of the Burman is the very 'jewel' of his life and the 'salt' of his existence? Shway Yoe observes that she plays a part more important than even that of her sister in the West. I venture to concur in this opinion, and to believe that, without the aid of woman, the Burman's life would be anything but happy, pleasant, and comfortable. She has to attend not only to household duties, but is, in most cases, the mainstay of her household, thereby maintaining her husband and children "by the sweat of her brow." There is a story current that once an Englishman, observing the inactivity of his Burman friend, asked "who goes to bazaar for you?" The latter replied "my wife." The former, wishing to know what part his friend took in his household affairs, put another question: "who cooks for you?" The Burman replied that his daughter cooked for him; and on being again asked whether he helped his daughter in her cooking, "No" replied he, "my work is to eat." There is a great moral weakness underlying this story, and it serves as a good example to show how hard-working the Burmese woman is, and how the Burman idles away his time, and, it will not be too much to say, how he "lives to eat."

Notwithstanding the greatness of the services thus rendered by the Burmese woman to her household, her husband will sometimes turn round and blandly tell her right in the face that she is lower than a dog in the scale of creation. I have made enquiries among my friends as to the origin of this belief, and I am happy to say that, as far as my information on the subject

goes, such a belief seems to be utterly unfounded. I have consulted some Buddhist books that, I thought, may have thrown light on the subject, but they are silent about the matter. My friend, however, whom I generally consult on such knotty points, tells me that from the Buddhist metaphysical point of view, the woman is inferior to the man in such qualities as bodily strength and resolution, and that from such a premiss it is inferred that she is his inferior in the possession of *kan* or merit. Moreover, all Buddhistic books, whether they be *Dhammathats* or *Nitis*, whenever they enter upon the relations between the two sexes, generally define such relations to the man's advantage. In one single instance only do I find the woman extolled pretty high above the other sex; and this is when it is stated, that she, in wisdom, surpasses man four times, and in energy six times. Even such a statement is, I believe, cunningly calculated to incite the woman to put forth more energy and thus save her husband's time and trouble.

Nowhere is the Divine curse on Eve better fulfilled than in Burma. Here a daughter of hers is looked upon as the slave and the household drudge of her lord and master, and her services are ignored, unappreciated, and unthanked, and her training, both intellectual and moral, is not at all cared for. The Burmans say that they do not see any reason why their women should be educated just to enable them to multiply the number of their lovers, and that, so long as a woman can make her husband's cheroots, wash his *pasos*, cook his rice, look after his children, and superintend the duties of the household, she may be said to be thoroughly accomplished and not deficient in anything.

Travellers, who have been to the East, and who record their observations and opinions in books, tell us that, while European women are as "free as the morning air," Asiatic women are confined with jealous care in pent-up harems, *seraglios*, and *zenanas*, and that not only are they excluded from the society of man, but also are left uneducated, and looked upon as creatures fit only to look after children and household matters. We are happy to record that such a remark cannot be applied to Burma without being considerably modified. It is true that kings and men in authority are like Cowper's "chanticleer with his harem of wives," but it is equally true also, that, among the middle classes, considerable freedom is accorded to women. In fact, they are so free, in some instances, that we are afraid that their modesty and chastity have fled at the advent of Western civilization. In Europe, where current romantic stories

of chivalry have, in a great measure, imbued, as it were, a spirit of gallantry into the men, the fair sex is generally held in romantic honour. In Burma, the case is quite different. Where all writings, both religious and secular, are calculated to teach men to look down upon women, we should not be surprised when we are told that the 'better half' of creation is here looked upon as toys specially created for man's sake.

It will not be, perhaps, out of place here, if we say something about the legal status of Burmese women. Before going any further into the subject, we would like to bring to the notice of our readers the following important facts :—

(1) That the Burmese are not ethnologically allied to the people whose laws and institutions they have borrowed.

(2) That, in Burma, little or no publicity is given to the laws, which have been framed.

(3) That no public opinion is ever passed or invited on these laws.

(4) That the services of the printing press are not availed of; hence the paucity of copies of law books.

We have been informed, on good authority, that the Legislative Council in Upper Burma generally consists of three or four ministers, and that, being unaided by the public, their measures, for the most part, do not meet with general favour among the people. When we take such facts into consideration, we can account for the apparent ignorance of the Burmese Judges of their own national law and the divergence in their application from the theory laid down in the law books.

We cannot concur with the learned Recorder, Mr. Wilkinson, who holds that decree should be given to the Burmese woman in preference to her husband when either party applies for a divorce without stating any legally sound reason for doing so; nor with another equally learned judge, Mr. Jardine, who holds that a Burmese marriage is not a 'civil contract' as pointed out by Colonel Sparks. As far as our experience goes, we do not remember hearing of such a law being enforced either by native judges or *lugyis*. We are of opinion, however, that the practice, whatever may be the corresponding theory, carried out is that a demand for divorce is sufficient for a decree, and that the party wishing the divorce shall leave the house with the only dress on his or her person, if the Court believes that no legally sound reasons are stated in the application.

In the above, I have endeavoured to show what position the Burmese woman occupies in the social scale, and how great are the responsibilities assigned to her. In the face of such evidence, we cannot but long for the day when the 'Ma Kins' and the 'Ma Gyis' will be regarded as the equals, both intellectually and morally, of the 'Maung Kins' and the 'Maung Gyis.'

CHESS.

It is not known when and how and whence chess was introduced into Burma. The Burmese called it "Sit-tu-ram" which, they say, is derived from the Pāli expression "caturanga", the four-fold division of an army, which consists of: (a) foot soldiers, (b) elephants, (c) horses, and (d) chariots. In the Burmese game, there are 3 *che-thi-nē-yōk*, (figures of foot soldiers), 2 *sin* (elephants), 2 *myin* (horses), a *ratha* (chariot), 1 *sitkē* (captain), and 1 *min* (king); total 16. The game is played with two sets, each containing 16 such figures.

2. Most probably, the game was derived from India, and was based on military tactics.

TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA PASSING THROUGH BURMA.

BURMESE records do not mention anything about direct trade-routes between China and India passing through Burma, but the following are the recognised routes between China and Burma, along which both trade and military expeditions passed:

- (i) Têngyüeh-Bhamo;
- (ii) Yungchangfu-Hsenwi (called Mupang in Chinese);
- (iii) Szemao-Kengtung.

These routes debouched at a town, which happened to be the capital of the Kingdom at that time. In Upper Burma, the following were the capitals:

Tagaung, Pagan, Ava, Sagaing, Amarapura and Mandalay while in Lower Burma, the following were the capitals:

Prome, Pegu and Thatôn.

Trade centred at the capital first, and then flowed in various directions. Arakan was a half-way house between Burma and India, and the routes between Arakan and Burma

passed through Padaung, which is nearly opposite Prome across the Irrawaddy, and through Minbu. The image of the Buddha in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay was brought away from Akyab to Amarapura *via* Padaung in 1785; and when Pagan was the capital, Burmese intercourse with Arakan was carried on through Minbu from the 11th to the 13th centuries A.D.

There was, however, a third land-route to India along the Chindwin Valley, which passed through Manipur and Assam. It became closed in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., owing to the Muhammadan invasion of Northern India. The sea-route was from Bassein, which early European travellers called Cosmin, to Bengal or Madras. (*Vide* pages 20 and 24-25 of the "Preliminary Study of the Kalyāni Inscription of Dhammacheti, 1476 A.D.)

Burmese chronicles never condescend to refer to commercial intercourse, but confine their attention to war, diplomacy, religious buildings and donations, and the administrative acts of Kings: hence the paucity of historical materials bearing on the subject.

LACQUERWARE MANUFACTURE AT PAGAN.

It is not known when and whence the art was introduced into Pagan. The probabilities are that it came from Northern Siam, through the Talaings, in the 11th century A.D., when so many other arts and crafts were domiciled at Pagan through the Burmese conquest of Thatôn.

The processes of manufacture are extremely simple. Bamboo split into thin slips is used and about 12 stages have to be passed through before a finished article is obtained, the minimum period of time ranging from four to six months. The article in its crude condition is besmeared with black wood-oil, which is procured from the Shan States, and then rubbed down by means of a pumice stone so as to make the surface smooth. The process is repeated after each coating of wood-oil has become dry by being kept in a subterranean chamber built of masonry. The patterns are incised with an iron style, and the artist is not guided, as a rule, by drawings or models placed before him. The scenes often depicted and most affected by the artists are those relating to the Vessantara, Mahājanaka, and the other Jātakas called the "Ten great Jātakas."

The implements used are equally simple, and consist mainly of a lathe and a sharp knife for scratching off the surface.

Orpiment or sulphide of arsenic is used to produce the yellow colour. Indigo mixed with orpiment gives a beautiful green colour. Red vermilion is also used. By a judicious mixture of yellow, blue, and red, other colours are obtained.

The lacquerware industry is in a dying condition for want of patronage. The articles manufactured are not exported, and the home market is becoming more and more restricted, owing to the growingly extensive use of European glassware and crockery.

CHAPTER XI.—FICTION.

THE MYSTERIOUS RING.

IN the latter part of the eighteenth century, an Arakanese King was on a pilgrimage by boat to the Mahā Muni Image—which was formerly placed in the old town of Arakan, and is now in Mandalay—when his royal signet ruby ring dropped into the water. About a month after this event, a guard of the Palace ushered into the Royal presence a scantily-clad fisherman with a basket load of fish on his shoulder. The King was not at all aware of the nature of the visit now paid him, and, thinking that it was great impudence on the fisherman's part to approach the Golden Feet with no substantial presents and with such scanty clothing, he was just going to order him out of his presence when the latter, in a crouching posture, exclaimed earnestly:—

"O glorious King! I, your faithful servant, have found this invaluable ruby ring in the abdomen of this fish. Of my own free will, I now present it to you, as I fully know that I should bring royal punishment upon myself, if I were to keep such a precious thing which does not become me"; and, so saying, he abruptly left the Palace, leaving the fish behind him. Whereupon the King sent for his wise Minister, Mahā Pyinnyā Gyaw, and asked him whether he could explain the strange destiny through which the signet ring had passed. The cringing Minister replied: "O King of Kings! never have I, indeed, heard of the recovery of a royal ring from the abdomen of a fish. This very fact attests to the great power and glory which you, my dread sovereign, possess. By the Three Precious Gems, I do solemnly avow that the fish, which now lies at the Golden Feet, has sacrificed its very life to restore the ring to your Majesty. This explanation will, perhaps, not be comprehended by the shallow-headed vulgar herd, so by means of my wisdom, I shall prove the validity of my assertion." So saying, he inserted the recovered ring in a tolerably large piece of meat, and having minced it up, he scattered the pieces about. Thereupon flocks of crows and kites alighted and flew away each with its share of meat. The piece, in which the ring was placed, happened to be swallowed by a kite, which was subsequently caught by a bird-catcher. This bird-catcher, too, like the fisherman, restored the lost ring to its

Royal owner. But Mahā Pyinnyā Gyaw was not satisfied. The vicissitudes, through which the ring had passed, would not, in his opinion, be sufficient to fill a volume of romance, nor would their explanation redound to his fame and honour by being able to trace the course the ring had then taken. So the next thing he did was, to extract the stone from the ring and give it away to a man of obscure birth, and asked him to do what he liked with it. This man sold it to a *Kala* or foreigner for one thousand silver coins. The fortuitous circumstances through which the ruby ring passed now began. The *Kala* handed it over to a goldsmith with an order that it should be inserted in a gold ring. But as 'blind fortune' would have it, a band of dacoits broke into the smith's house and took away the mysterious ring on the very night when it was ready to be delivered to its owner. The next day these dacoits went to the river-side to bathe. Now it happened that hard by the spot where they had put their clothes, a hole had been made by a rat. This rat feeling very hungry and sniffing some smell in the air came out of its hole, and, on seeing the clothes, began to rummage them about in the hope of getting something that appeared to be eatable. With the quickness of an arrow, it pounced on the stone and made its way back to its underground home.

On the next day, a menial in the service of the Lord Chief Justice was seized with a great desire to eat rat's flesh, and, recollecting that he had formerly seen a rat's hole near the river-side, he directed his steps thither. On reaching the place he began to ply his crowbar, when lo! a bright jewel presented itself to his view. Now, according to the laws of Arakan, a slave and everything belonging to him are regarded as the property of his master. So it was the bounden duty of that lucky menial to go to his master and present him with the stone he had found. The Judge, as soon as he saw it, knew that it was the very mysterious ruby employed by Mahā Pyinnyā Gyaw, who was parading the depth of his wisdom. For this he wanted to punish his rival, and he saw no better way of effecting his purpose than by preventing it from reaching the Minister's hand. He, therefore, locked it up in his strong teak-wood box. Some days after this, his official duty required him to be away from home; and it was during his absence that his wife, with the womanly curiosity characteristic of her sex, opened her husband's box and took out the jewel. Putting it on her palm, and looking steadily at it, she began building castles in the air, when, by some hypnotic cause, she fell

asleep near a window. The sun had then nearly reached the meridian, and the crows, which were accustomed to pick the crumbs and other remains of the judge's table, were swarming about the place. One crow, bolder than the rest, flew into the house by the above mentioned window and alighted near the sleeping lady. It saw the stone, and, by some ungovernable instinct, it immediately seized it and flew back to its nest near a monastery. In the afternoon of that very day, the boys of the neighbouring *kyaung* were allowed to roam about the place after school was over. Among these boys, there was one who was extremely fond of bird-nesting. That day, he climbed up the tree on which was placed the nest of the crow which had taken away the mysterious jewel. On reaching the nest, great was his disappointment mingled with surprise, when he saw a large ruby in the place of crow's eggs. Perhaps, the little urchin looked upon the mysterious stone in the light of the cock in the fable that turned up a jewel. After some hesitation, he thought it fit to take the ruby to his master. The venerable *pôngyi* saw it and gavely shook his head, saying that it was against both the commandments of the Great Buddha and the laws of the country for poor folks to keep things which did not become them. So saying, he sent for his respectable yellow robes, and having put them on, he at once repaired to the Palace of the King. Mahā Pyinnyā Gyaw was present at the audience. On the King asking him to explain the matter, he was at first at a *non-plus*. But he did not lose his coolness, which is so essential for men holding high positions of trust. With the inquisitive faculty peculiar to him, he at once made the old *Pôngyi* throw him on the scent. He discovered that the stone was found in a crow's nest by a school-boy. But this clue, slender as it was, was turned into account and made the basis of the course he should pursue. He asked the priest to get the boy to capture the crow and send it to him with every possible despatch. The request was complied with; and the next morning, the Minister got up early, and taking a counterfeit jewel, which greatly resembled the mysterious one, he attached it to the beak of the bird in such a way as to represent it as flying with its rich booty. After this, he issued orders in the name of his Royal Master that all the guards of the City were to turn out, and, if they heard any noise about a crow, they should at once report the matter to the King. This plan succeeded wonderfully. No sooner was the crow released, than it made its way direct to the Judge's house, where it was accustomed to get its daily

food, and loud cries of "*Kyaukni chi la dè kyì gan go p'an he*" — "catch the crow with the ruby in its beak," were heard. The discovery was at once reported, and the jealousy of the Judge against the Minister was found out. Nevertheless, one thing still remained to be discovered, and one link was still required to complete the romantic chain of circumstances in relation to the mysterious Jewel. No one had found out who the dacoits were; and what would the King think of Maha Pyinnya Gyaw's vaunted wisdom, if he could trace the other strange circumstances through which the stone had passed, and not know who the delinquents were. What credit would it reflect on him if he could recover the jewel and not bring the offenders to justice? Would not his wisdom be then regarded rather as boastful than useful and substantial? Such conflicting thoughts passed in the Minister's breast. But he was equal to the emergency. He ordered the Royal guards to keep a strict watch round the rat's hole on the river-side and arrest any person, who came and looked for a ring near it. Again, in this case, Fortune still favoured the favourite Minister. The dacoits were captured; and, on examination, they confessed the theft they had committed. And thus the Minister's prestige was established and the proof of his Royal Master's power and glory universally admitted.

In conclusion we must say that, had the King been wise, like Henry V, he would have, perhaps, exclaimed:—

"What drink'st thou oft, instead of homage sweet,
But poisoned flattery? O, be sick, great greatness,
And bid thy ceremony give the cure!"

AN AMOROUS PONGYI.

A BRIGHT calm tropical evening. The full refulgent moon has just risen tinging all mundane objects with a silvery hue. A group of some twenty people is seen before us. They are seated on bamboo mats spread on the bare ground. To all appearance they are listening to the rehearsal of some story recounting the glorious meritorious deeds of their Buddha. Let us approach a little closer and verify our guess. Yes, our guess is correct. There is the *kyauktaga* U Maung surrounded by his family of six grown-up children. He has taken upon himself the duty of a minstrel and is favouring his neighbours and his children with a metrical version of the Great Renunciation as recorded in the *Wethandaya zat*. Hark! what

is the cause of the bustle in that yonder place? Is it a village fight, a dacoity, or a fire? A fire, indeed, as evidenced by the tumultuous cries of "mi! mi! kè ba kè ba"—"fire! fire! save us! save us!"

The day dawned clear and bright; but cares and sorrows were clearly stamped on the face of every villager, for what was once a thriving and prosperous village had been in one night turned into a smouldering mass of ashes. Among those who had suffered from loss in this conflagration was *kyaungtaga* U Maung, whom we have introduced above. He was a good man and true, and, having amassed great wealth in his younger days, had deservedly won for himself the much coveted title of *kyaungtaga* by building a monastery which was reputed far and wide as being the grandest and the best furnished of all, and, besides, as having an Ava theological graduate for its abbot.

U Maung had three sons and three daughters, all of whom were married. The youngest daughter was Kin Me by name. She was comely and fair, and, having just completed her seventeenth year, was still in her bloom of youth and beauty. She had, however, married, but unwisely. Her parents discouraged the match. They did not like the idea of owning such a lazy, droning, milk-sop fop as Maung Maung was, for their son-in-law. They wanted a strong healthy young man, whose mental capacity was commensurate with his physical fitness to cope with the difficulties of this hard world. But to her subsequent misery, the strong headed girl would not brook parental interference. She said she had given her heart to Maung Maung, and Maung Maung she must have by hook or crook. Accordingly she eloped with him, and the issue of the union was a chubby little boy of one summer. As might be expected, Maung Maung did not survive his marriage long. He fell a victim to his debauchery and intemperance. And poor Kin Me was left alone in the world to be the butt of the whole village.

Now, the abbot of the monastery of which U Maung was the *kyaungtaga*, was one U Zota, who had sat at the feet of the learned divine the *Thathanabaing*, Maungdaung Sadaw, and who had received a thorough training in the doctrines and metaphysics of Gotama Buddha. He had turned a deacon when he was but 19 years old, and had been donning the yellow garb for the last 15 years. He had come down from Mandalay

at the special invitation of U Maung, who wanted, for his Mentor and Conscience-Keeper, one who was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Philosopher of Kapilavatthu and who had at his fingers' ends the principal tenets of the "Three Baskets." Well, on the morning of the day when the whole village was nothing but a mass of ashes, this holy man was pacing the verandah of his monastery and probably meditating inwardly on the impermanence of all worldly things in general and the tendency of villages to be destroyed by fire in particular. He had not been thus perambulating for about half an hour when a frail female form, which had once been beautiful and had seen better days, presented itself in a supplicating posture before him. "Lord, Lord," she sobbingly and piteously cried, "save me, oh, do save me, my husband is dead. My parents spurn me, my friends and neighbours chuckle at my sad condition. Oh! how bad must be my *kan*! For my sake, be a father to this child." She wept; and her enunciation was rendered inaudible by her sighs and sobs. U Zota was thunderstruck. True it was he had, through fear of contamination, never before allowed any *mātugāma* or woman approach within four cubits of his person. This time he would have, he thought, repelled the approach of the girl had he been but aware of it. "And, what will become of my boasted sanctity, my reputation for being a woman-hater?" muttered he to himself audibly. But it was too late. Compassion had melted his once obdurate heart, and the 'wasplish headed son' of Venus had deeply launched his little mischievous arrows in it. "Dagamagale" said he, at last recovering from his wonder and surprise, "be comforted; fear not: I will be your guardian and protector, and at the same time a father to this child. But remember, the time has not yet come for me to assume this office. You must wait and be patient. Heigh! Nga Pe, go and fetch the *kyaungtaga* at once. Tell him that I want to see him on a very important business". The latter portion of the speech was directed to a *kyaungtha*, who forthwith darted off to prosecute his mission. Of course, our readers must not assume that Kin Me heard the speech of the abbot and acquiesced in the sentiment expressed therein. She was too much engrossed in her sorrow. The thought of being suddenly bereft of her loved one, of being spurned by her parents, and, lastly, of how to bring up her offspring, had taken absolute possession of her mind. And, therefore, it was no wonder that she neither heard nor gave any heed to the words of the *pōngyi*.

About half an hour after this interview, U Maung himself appeared on the scene. His face was downcast and crest-fallen, and bespoke of the sad emotions welling within him. He approached the priest in a crouching and humble posture, and, bowing his head three times, asked the holy man if his services were needed. "Yes," replied U Zota, "I need them badly at this moment; and know you this young woman and this child?"

"Yes, my lord, this young woman was my daughter and this would have been my grand-child. But I own them not."

"Why 'was' *kyaungtaga*?" replied the priest indignantly "she is your flesh and blood. No one can disown his relative, and much less a daughter. You remember my sermon on hell-suffering; don't you? Remember that, let it be impressed indelibly on your memory." Then he launched himself into a long edifying discourse interspersed with Pāli quotations on the reciprocal duties of parents to children, how Gotama insisted on the kindness to be shown by parents to their children, what kind of suffering those must undergo, who violated his commandment etc. At the end of the discourse, being stricken with the terror of Hell, and not wishing to lose his reputation of a strict votary of Buddhism, besides, his parental affection overcoming his assumed severity towards his child, the *kyaungtaga* said: "Lord, I am convinced of the truth of your arguments. I admit that I have been hard upon my child; and I must atone for this severity by once more taking her into my bosom and my home." This domestic chasm being thus amicably bridged over through the kind intercession of the love-stricken abbot, Kin Me once more found herself surrounded by familiar and loving faces.

Ten years passed away; and the chubby little child of one summer had grown into an active merry boy of eleven years. Since he was six years old, his education had been confided to the care of U Zota, who seemed to take no little interest in his charge. And Saw U, for that was the name of the boy, derived great benefit from his teachings. Naturally he was a precocious lad, and this precocity was stimulated and developed under the almost paternal care of his holy teacher. During the five years of his residence at the monastery, he had thoroughly mastered the contents of the formidable Thada and Thingyo—works from which ordinary boys would shrink as from a strong dose of castor oil. Moreover, he was the right-hand disciple of his master, who utilised him as a sort of secretary and amanuensis. This was no mean office for a young lad of eleven,

and Saw U himself was proud of his position and his importance in his school world. One day, however, U Zota sent the boy on an errand to his mother. He carried a short palm leaf encased in a small chintz bag. This he was instructed not to open on any account. But as all of us are aware, who can overcome boyish curiosity? Saw U opened the amorous epistle, for such was the palm leaf he carried, and, to his wonder and amazement, found that therein his seemingly holy, austere, ascetic, celibate teacher had expressed his warmest affection for his widowed mother. He was thunder struck. He did not know what to do: should he take it to his mother or tear it to pieces? Perhaps, the former alternative ought to be pursued. An order is an order and he must obey it, though filial veneration for his mother might have received a shock. Accordingly, the palm leaf safely reached the hands of Kin Me for whom it was destined. She opened the cloth case and read it. A frown on her finely formed eye-brows was perceptible. That was all. Without giving vent to any emotions within her, she threw the letter into a fire that was burning in the fire-place. Saw U, young as he was, noticed the effect produced by the letter on his mother, but checked his inclination to put some impertinent questions to her regarding the *pôngyi's* missive, and saying that he had a lot of lessons to learn retraced his steps to the *kyauung*.

All this while, U Zota was on the tip-toe of expectation. He had been passing the sweetest of moments in the whole range of his celibate life. He had been building castles in the air, saying to himself how he was going to be the son-in-law of the greatest and most influential man in the place, and what a happy conjugal life was in store for him. Alas! little did he know that all his hopes were to be soon frustrated.

Meanwhile Saw U arrived. He went into the room of his teacher, whom he found lying down on the floor with a sort of stony glare about his eyes. The boy knelt down beside him, and, having bowed his head low three times, awaited the order of the *pôngyi*. U Zota woke from his reverie, and the presence of his pupil exercised a salutary influence in bringing him from the land of 'airy nothing' to the world of realities. The first question he asked was—

"Where is Kin Me?"

"At home", was the laconic reply of the boy.

"Did you give her that palm leaf?"

"Yes, Lord, I did,"

"Did she read it?"

"She did."

"Then, what did she do with it after reading it?"

"She threw it into the fire."

"Threw it into the fire"—the poor priest could speak no more. A black scowl passed over his face and his whole frame was in a convulsed state, showing how keen the disappointment was and how sharp was its blow. He bit his underlip, ground his teeth, and was going to give vent to his sorrow and disappointment in a violent manner, when happily his reason asserted its sovereignty over his passion. Once more, his face beamed with intelligence, and his features assumed their habitual calmness. Then, turning to the boy, he, with all the suavity at his command, said, "Well, Saw U, you may go now."

When the little melodrama recorded above was enacted, it was rather late in the evening. The hall of the monastery had been lit up with earth-oil lamps. Some novices and lay boys were reciting their lessons at the top of their voice, while others were kneeling down before a brazen image of Gotama placed in one corner of the hall. But placed as he was in the midst of this hubbub, U Zota appeared to be buried in his own thoughts and not to be at all affected by this Babel of voices. He appeared grave and calm, and the deep furrows on his forehead bespoke of some hard mental struggle within. It being then 9 p.m. the hubbub of voices gradually died away and the whole school retired to rest. U Zota, too, retired to his dormitory, but not to sleep. Morpheus spurned him probably for his amorous propensities, leaving him restless and haunted by dreams.

The next morning found U Zota calm, hopeful, and subdued, though loss of sleep and the harrowing nature of his mind made him look haggard and worn. There was a cynical appearance about him and one might have guessed that his disappointment in love had turned him from a large-hearted compassionate man into a misanthrope. But this was not the actual case: By one stroke of accident, he had been turned from a woman-hater into a woman-lover; and this metamorphosis he tried his best to cloak over by a stern, cynical, misanthropic external appearance. With the beating of the *kaladet*—a piece of hollowed timber or petrified wood doing duty for a bell—he got up from bed. Then he performed his ablutions. This done, he said his morning prayers—in a tone more cheerful

than that observed in him for the past few days. After this, in company with his brethren, he sat down to his morning meal.* At this early breakfast, his fellow-priests might have noticed how kind and affable he was, and how radiant was his face with a continual smile playing on his lips. The frugal meal was soon over, and each priest betook himself to the holy avocation he had to perform. Gradually the dining hall became deserted till U Zota found himself alone.

"Nga U," said U Zota, after being buried in a reverie for some time, "go and fetch *kyaungtaga* U On Gaing, sharp! Now boy, run." The young schoolboy thus addressed then tucked up his *paso*, exposing thereby his full tattooed legs, and put forth his pedestrian powers. Soon Nga U returned bringing with him the elder U On Gaing, who was duly ushered into a small chamber and was there closeted for full two hours. At the close of the interview, U On Gaing rose to go. His last words were, "This evening at 8 p.m. precisely. Don't fail."

Time flies with silken wings. U Zota was aware of this. So, with the stoical indifference so characteristic of a strict Buddhist, he calmly waited for the hour. The evening arrived. The clock struck eight. And U Zota, abruptly leaving his disciples, retired to his dormitory.

On the evening of that day the northern part of the little village where the scene of our story was laid, presented a lively appearance. There seemed to be all mirth and jollity. The uproarious Burmese musical band was there with its indispensable tympanum-breaking cymbals and drums. There were *apyos* and *lubyos* not promiscuously mixed, but each sex marshalled in one line. Each of these bridesmaids and bridegroom's men, for so actually they were, carried a large wooden tray filled with sundry articles of food, toilet, or wardrobe. In their midst was the bridegroom himself. He was tall and slim with a rather haggard face. On approaching him, we experienced a feeling as one would on his seeing the face of an old acquaintance. A little more scrutiny, and we found that the bridegroom was no other than our old friend the abbot! Slowly the procession wended its way in the direction of U Maung's house, which it reached at about 9 p.m. The younger members of the family had already retired to rest and the older ones were having a chat over a kettleful of hot tea and a dish of *ngapi*. U Maung enquired the nature of the

* Buddhist priests are allowed to take two meals a day—one at about 5 a.m. and the other at about 11 a.m.

procession and what it wanted with him. U On Gaing then, as officiating spokesman, accompanied by other elders and *Kyaungtagas*, went up to U Maung and addressed him thus:—

"*Kyaungtaga*, you and I have been friends since we were in a monastery together. Our friendship, as you will confess, is strong, and just to make it stronger, will you agree to my making your daughter my daughter, and your making my son your son? In anticipation of your agreeing to this, I here bring my son as a meet bridegroom for your daughter."

"But, *Kyaungtaga*," said U Maung, after recovering from this sudden surprise, "first tell me how you managed to get this grown-up son. All this time, I was under the impression that you were childless."

"U Maung, you must remember that I was a student at Ava for sometime. There, in my wild days, I contracted a marriage with a poor girl whom I loved. My parents looked on our union as a *mésalliance*, and would not receive my wife into their home, and so, I was obliged to send her back to her own parents. A boy was the issue of our unhappy marriage, and the poor girl died soon after her travail. This boy has now grown up into that grown-up one yonder. I have always kept my former marriage a strict secret, because my thinking about it causes me great pain by ripping up an old wound."

"If this is the actual case, U On Gaing, allow me to congratulate you for having found your lost son; and as to your proposal of connecting our families with a marriage tie, I cannot but give my full consent to it."

Kin Me was then sent for, and asked what her opinion was on this matrimonial affair affecting her future lot. She was a frank young woman, who said her say freely and plainly. She added that she had always resolved to obey her parents, and in this affair it was only an instance of the subservience of her will to theirs.

The parties concerned thus coming to an amicable agreement, the marriage was duly solemnized by the dim light of an earth-oil lamp.

CONFESSIONS OF A DACOIT.

My name is Maung Ba. I am 25 years old. My father now dead, was a Wun. When I was about 18, he sent me to Mandalay to attend on the *ex-king* Thibaw. I had high hopes of becoming a big official. The King liked me, and I stood

in great favour with the Chief Queen. But I was extremely unlucky in the matter of there being certain maids of honour, who fell in love with me. When Their Majesties heard that I was the object of the amorous propensities of these maids, they became wroth. My life was in danger, for, according to the tradition of the Royal Palace, all maids of honour must remain in celibacy; so I had to fly.

In the early part of 1245 (1883) I reached Sinbyugyun in the Salin District where my father was Wun before. I found some of his retainers. They were trustworthy. I explained to them the object of my flight; and they, in their bluff way, said: "Never mind, we shall take care of you. You shall not die." To baffle identification as much as possible, my head was shaved, red marks conferring invulnerability were tattooed on my body; and my name was changed to Maung Aung Min.

At that time, dacoities were just beginning to be rife. I believe the extreme venality of both the King and his Ministers was the cause. The Provincial Governorships were farmed out to the highest bidders, without taking into consideration the welfare of the people. For instance, say, one Nga Pyu, a retainer of some high official, wanted to become a *Wun*. He said to his master: "I will give you Rs. 5,000, and Rs. 15,000 to the King. Will you get me a *Wun* ship under these conditions?" The master said: "Yes" and Nga Pyu was appointed straight away a *Wun* by the King. Of course, when he became a *Wun* he tried his best to refill his purse. He tried his hand at all sorts of things. He found that the maintenance of dacoit-bands, with whose spoils he shared, paid best. But Nga Pyu was not to enjoy his *Wun* ship long. Nga Mè, who could pay Rs. 20,000 to the King succeeded him. Besides, bribery to the Ministers, especially to the Taingda Mingyi, would shield from punishment a criminal who had committed murder, dacoity, or arson. And thus the country got more and more out of hand.

But I digress: I said dacoities were just becoming to be rife then. I became affected by the spirit of the times. I wanted to turn a dacoit. In my dreams, I fancied how jolly it would be to burn, plunder, and harass towns and villages. I communicated my wish to my father's retainers. They all said: "It is a very good idea. We will follow you to death." I then tried to organize a band. I appointed Nga Saing to be my Lieutenant. He was a swarthy fellow with plenty of

bones and sinews. About 10 muskets, 20 *das*, and 12 spears were collected. Our band consisted of 30 men of whom 10 were mounted on ponies.

The first village, where we tried our apprenticeship, was S., situated a few miles to the south of Salin, the head-quarter town of the district of the same name. It was about *legyetti* (about 6 p.m.) when we arrived there. The sun had just set then. We fired a volley near the village enclosure. Immediately, there was a death-like silence. We simply marched in and did what we liked. We got hold of some rich traders and roasted them over a slow fire to make them disgorge their wealth. There was a miserly fellow in that village. We had great difficulty in dealing with him. We had to put burning circlets of cloth round his neck, hammer him on the back and thigh with the butt end of our muskets, and twist his hands backwards before we could make him give up his keys. While we were committing these acts, not a single man, woman, or child stirred. We were unmolested; and we left the village. By that expedition we made about Rs. 1,000 in cash, Rs. 2,000 in clothes, gold, and silver ornaments. The booty was satisfactorily divided. There was not a murmur among the men.

After this, we dared not return to our abode on a small island in the river.

In the course of years, our gang grew in number and we committed more dacoities marked with cruelty, barbarity, and outrage on women's modesty. But I need not dwell at length on such concomitants, which are inseparable from dacoities committed by all Burmans.

I will now describe another dacoity, which was quite a novel one. The month was October; the Royal Revenue had just been gathered in. We plotted to dacoit T— where the *thugyi* was reputed to be very rich. About 20 men were selected from the gang. I was to play the rôle of a *Wun* on an inspection tour, and was dressed in a grand *cheikpaso* and a piece of white book-muslin was tied round my head. I entered the village riding, followed by a retinue of dacoits carrying the paraphernalia of my rank, such as goblets, betel boxes, *das*, spears, muskets, canes etc. The *thugyi* met me and my men at the gate of the village. He went down on his knees and asked me on what mission I had come. I said I was *Wun* of the district, just come from Mandalay, and that I had been ordered by the King to remit the Royal Revenue as soon as possible.

I represented I had come on an inspection tour also to see the nature and capabilities of my district. The *thugyi* believed my story *nolens volens* I suppose, for all I know. He led me to his house and gave me 3 gunny bags full of money, each bag containing Rs. 1,000. I called for the revenue records also, and made them over to my lieutenant, who represented my *Sayegi* or Head Clerk. We chatted on while Nga Saung went to collect more money according to the revenue accounts. Now, in Upper Burma, the amount of the *thathameda* tax paid by each household varied according to its wealth and standing. The average rate was said to be Rs. 10 per household. But sometimes one household paid only Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 while another paid Rs. 20 or 30. Nga Saung pounced on the wealthy households on which higher rates of the *thathameda* had been assessed in the accounts. By this means, he managed to get about Rs. 5,000 more.

At last, Thibaw and his ministers could not any longer tolerate the prevailing order of things. The Hlethin Atwin Wun was appointed a High Commissioner of Police with full powers to adopt any measures for the stamping out of dacoity. Hearing about this, our gang escaped to Tharrawaddy, Rangoon, and Henzada, in the guise of coolies, water-carriers, and oil-sellers. The Atwin Wun proved a very harsh and unrelenting magistrate. He generally summarily sentenced to death all the dacoits captured and brought before him; and to produce a deterrent effect on the people he had the criminals killed, drawn, and quartered; and their mutilated bodies were floated down the river on rafts of plantain trees. The smaller fry were let off with the words "Don't be wicked in future, be careful" tattooed on their hands.

The Hlethin Atwin Wun reduced the country to peace and order in September, and the English took Upper Burma in November 1885. The country having thus changed hands, we returned to our old haunts, where we resumed our old 'trade'. But the English are a brave and wise race. We could not withstand their power long. The greater part of my men were cut down by the mounted *kalas* in the Ava district, while the rest, including myself, were captured. I know we deserve to be shot.

MAUNG PO : A PRODUCT OF WESTERN
CIVILIZATION (1886).

(A FRAGMENT.)

CHAPTER I.—EARLY YEARS.

IN the district of P— there is a small town on the left bank of the river Irrawaddy. A fine, pretty place is that town ; and cool, sequestered, and quiet, it lies ensconced between two low ranges of hills overgrown with gardens of custard-apples, guavas, jack, mangoes, papayas, etc. It is a beautiful spot well deserving the sobriquet of the "Arcadia" of the district. In this town Maung Po was born. His father was a wealthy trader—in fact, the Rothschild of the place. He was a practical ~~xx~~-priest, who knew well how to apply his learning to the intricacies of daily life. He had two sons and three daughters, and our hero was the youngest. Youngest sons are somehow always loved more than any other children, and Maung Po, in accordance with this natural law, became the pet of the family.

He grew up strong and healthy in that happy homestead of his, and when he was about six years old, he was sent to an English school at the headquarters of the district. In thus sending him to the English school, Maung Po's father, U Kyi, tried, in Burman-like fashion, to adapt himself to the circumstances around him. He knew that, under British rule, a good knowledge of English was a good passport to any situation in Government service. Many and many a hard struggle had he met with in trying to attain his present position. He was an Upper Burman, who had come down from Shwebo, the birth-place of Alaungpaya. Shwebo and places round about it are somewhat sterile ; vegetation is stunted, and the people have to subsist on maize and peas principally. This tract of land, because of its sterility, and its having strong, hardy, thrifty, and canny dwellers, may really be called the Scotland of Burma. Well, U Kyi came from there. He was a swarthy, tall, and muscular Burman. He was a priest, at first, as I have already stated. When his parents died, he cast off his yellow garb, and was thrown upon the world single-handed and alone. He came to Lower Burma to turn his hand to something useful. He turned a waterman and reaper in succession.

It was in his case, the old story of 'he married his master's daughter.' Having inherited some property on his wife's side,

he grew rich and happy. In the course of years, he was blessed with children and he thought no more of his native land. He had at last found a home. Well, as I said, he had contended against many and many a hard battle in life, and he said to himself that he would try his best to shield his dear boy from the miseries and privations he had undergone. He wanted him to know English—a language he said to himself, “truly termed alchemical, in being able to transmute into solid coins the dry facts acquired in studying it.”

So Maung Po was sent to an English school, where he studied uninterruptedly for five years. He was a sharp lad with bright eyes and a beaming face. Boyish, full of spirit and full of fun, he was more of an English boy, than a Burman boy born and bred in the enervating tropics. His master spoke highly of him and expressed a hope that one day he would finish his academical career in flying colours. When he was twelve, his father got about 10 days' leave for him and had him made a *koyin* or novice. There was a grand feast as usual. *Pwēs* were held, and from miles around, people came to the feast. At the end of 10 days, Maung Po came out of his noviciate. He rejoined the English school again and the round of days and weeks went by with him as of old.

When he was thirteen, he passed the Middle School Examination, and became a Government Scholarship-holder of the first school of the metropolis. In 18— he duly passed the Calcutta University Entrance Examination. His father then thought that Maung Po had received enough of an English education. He wanted him to turn his knowledge into a ‘bread and butter science.’ “Nothing is better” he wrote to his son—“than learning to be manly and independent. During my life-time, you should learn to be self-reliant, and to earn your own bread; otherwise you can never call the wealth I shall leave you your own.” So Maung Po left school with great regret, and became an apprentice in a Deputy Commissioner's office. But he had not left school in vain. He had received a sound education there, and been thoroughly grounded in the principles of discipline, and had developed his physical man by playing football and cricket. He had also formed some life-lasting friendships there. Maung Gyi, Maung Aung, Maung Hla—men who became in after years the leading men in the Province, were his closest companions. In due time Maung Po became a clerk, and in this *keranidom* we will leave him for the present.

CHAPTER II.—OUT IN THE WORLD.

Maung Po was now out in the wide, wide world. He was getting Rs. 75 a month—a good salary for a youth of eighteen. But we are sorry to record that this sum was hardly enough for him : and except for his father's subsidies, he would not have been able to keep his head above water. His European polish had given him a relish for European things. No more *ngapi* for him : he eschewed it as if it were some deadly poison. "The British India" and the "British Burma" Hotels were his favourite haunts, where on Saturdays after office, he would treat his Eurasian and European friends to a bottle of champagne or moselle and seek relaxation in a game of billiards. He was a skilful player and sometimes won a lot of money. But all this money was again commuted into liquor and roast-beef. Fond hope of his father ! He thought that a knowledge of English was alchemically valuable : it could transmute the dry "A,B,C,D," and "1,2,3," into silver and gold. It was by acting in this belief that, without having given the least religious training to his young impressionable son, he packed him off to an English school, which, claiming to be a cosmopolitan institution, taught no religion at all. Yes, the father is to blame for his son's iniquities. What says the old Indian proverb : "As is the seed sown, so is the tree produced."

He drifted on and on in this wide world. The world proved to be too strong for him. He sank lower and lower in drunkenness and dissipation, till his friends considered him irreclaimable. He became over head and ears in debt and the horrors of a "debtor's jail" stared him in the face. He became also desperate, and did not know what to do. In this predicament, he wrote thus to his father :—

"Dear father,—I am greatly in debt. My creditors are daily dunning me. Unless you come to the rescue, I shall be in prison within a month.

Your obedient son,

MAUNG PO.

P.S.—My debt amounts to Rs. 1,000."

U Kyi was a forgiving father, and readily forgave his prodigal son. And talking over the subject with his wife he said : "Wife, I had 10 elephants when Maung Po was a child. To pay for his English education, I sold 5, each for Rs. 1,500. Now I am afraid I shall have to sell the rest also for his sake.

Ah! my *kan* must be bad. My elder son, Maung O, is all right. He does not know English, but he can manage my business to my satisfaction."

"But, husband," said the gentle mother who could not believe in the prodigality of her once and still beloved son, "Maung Po mixes with big people—*Ayebaings* and *Wundauks*. He must keep up his position. He must drink a little to please his superiors, when he sits at their table. He must put on silk stockings and Dawson's boots, and nice *gaungbaungs* and *pasos*. And Rangoon, you know, is an expensive city. No, no, my boy is not to blame."

"You may say what you like, wife; I have made up my mind to call him back home. It's no use to keep him in Rangoon, with a propped-up dignity. By to-morrow I shall send him the sum asked for."

"And what will you do with him when he is here? He will, I suppose, bring down his books, almirahs, chairs, and tables. And that's expense you know, husband."

"Yes, but expense or no expense, my mind is made up and home he shall come. My plan is that he should take to cultivating, at least to superintending or assisting me with his knowledge of Western agricultural science, which, I believe, no doubt, he has studied"

"Well, you may do what you like. I obey."

Next morning, a letter was posted to Maung Po's address calling him back home. The letter was accompanied by a remittance of Rs. 1,100, the extra money being to pay his travelling expenses and to buy sundry things as artificial flowers, milk of roses, etc., for his sisters at home.

CHAPTER III—THE HLAUGA FESTIVAL.

It was the middle of November 18—when Maung Po reached P—, whence he was to start for his native village. He put up at his aunt's house situated on the Strand. At the time of his arrival, festivities were going on. P— was then, as it is now, noted for its "Hlawga processions" in Tazaungmôn-November of each year. The Hlawga is a dragon-shaped boat, some 20 or 30 feet in length and 3 or 4 in breadth. It is either carried on men's shoulders or drawn on cart-wheels. A fair and magnificent representation of the Hlawga may be seen in the *Kalaweikpaung* or the Royal Barge at Mandalay. I cannot say, for certain, how this festival originated. Perhaps,

for all we know, it may be a remnant of the Scythian snake-worship.*

At the time of Maung Po's arrival, English ideas and Western civilization had percolated deep enough into popular minds as to suggest the idea of substituting representations of steam-boats and railway-cars with smoking funnels for native 'Hlawgas' made of bamboo wicker work. I think *kyaung-ama* Ma Me was the first who introduced this innovation. Some scandalous people said at that time that she did so because her youngest sister was mistress to a European official in the station. Be that as it may, Ma Me was the first who, in that Tazaungmôn, made a wicker-work representation of a paddle steamer with a single deck. It was put on cart-wheels and drawn by Burmese coolies. The coringhi coolies were *non est* then). The paddle revolved round the spindle by means of small wheels attached to them which were turned round by two men; and the smoke was made to issue from the funnel as in a real steamer. There was a regular staff of mock officers on board. Master X, the *kyaungama's* nephew, with a binocular in hand, officiated as Captain. There was a young man to act as leadsmen. The Chief Officership was vacant and Maung Po was offered the post as he knew English and a little Hindustani. He acted his part well. Having a fine, lithe, muscular build, a fair complexion and a prominent nose, he looked very well in his European costume. He was cognizant of this; and while seemingly giving orders to the lascars, he was at the same time ogling at the young maidens, who marched on either side of the steamer.

The procession slowly wended its way along the principal high roads where charitably-disposed people treated the 'processionists' with lime or tamarind sherbet, the indispensable *let-pet*, plums, sweetmeats, etc. There was great mirth and jollity all round, and the wonder to a European was that such a crowded Burmese procession should pass on without any fights and brawls. Maung Maung and Maung Aung, the two famous wrestlers in the quarters played on the *bônshé* (drum) and *lagwin* (cymbal) respectively, while others sang in choruses. Maung Po, engaged as he was, could not join in this mirth and song, and many a wistful glance did he cast towards the musical band. In the evening, however, when

* Such a custom of having a 'dragon procession' obtains among the Chinese also; the only difference being in the time, which is among the latter during their new year (January-February).

the 'steamer' had been safely carried to the pagoda platform, he came and joined the band with great enthusiasm. Relying on his powerful lungs, strengthened by hard exercise, he vociferated louder than all. He sang songs in English, Burmese, and Hindustani alternately. The 'Pyabyathun,' 'Auld lang syne,' and the 'Rājā hume kam,' all combined and sung in an indifferent key must have been somewhat jarring to the ears of the audience. Nevertheless, his listeners cheered him and he sang and sang till it came late. The Court-house bell had struck 12 when he and they retired to rest.

To do Maung Po and his comrades justice, I must add that no liquor was drunk that night in that gathering, though I doubt whether, on a cold November night, he did not long for a "wee drop of cauld tae." Hot tea and jaggery and *lotpet* had been largely provided, and the young men fully enjoyed themselves.

Next morning, at sun-rise, Maung Po crossed the river and soon found himself at home.

CHAPTER IV.—AT HOME.

A buffalo out of its mire, a fish out of its water, and a camel out of its desert, even so out of place is an English-speaking Burman in his native home. For, when Maung Po reached home, a general rejoicing took place, and that rejoicing, as is usual among Burmans, is of a religious character. An offering was made to the nine Buddhas. In the evening a small pedestal, bearing the nine holy images was brought up to the upper floor of the house and the neighbours in the quarter were invited to participate in the ceremony in its two-fold character: to acquire merit for themselves and to bring the blessing of health and happiness on the new-comer. The five precepts of social morality were recited, laudatory verses recounting the noble deeds of Gotama Buddha were sung, and an old man, the leader of the choir—if we may so use the term—began to repeat a long prayer for the welfare of the household till midnight and continued again at the small hours of the morning.

All the time, however, Maung Po was observed to have a frown on his face. The people present noticed that he could not very fittingly join in the ceremony: he could not repeat what they were repeating. Poor young man! he felt himself as a 'distintegrated atom of matter in space.' He knew that he was at home at last, surrounded by loving and familiar faces,

and yet there was a certain barrier, which separated him from them and the rest of the world. But this was not all, there was a great hardship still in store for him.

The next day was the full moon day on which devout Buddhists keep their sabbath. Early in the morning, there was a general stir in Maung Po's village. Life and activity seemed to have been inspired in every dweller there, and every one seemed to look forward with a joyous face to the day so full of calmness, contentment, and healthy recreation. Commencing from about 5 a.m. there was a great concourse of people flocking to the 'town' pagoda and the surrounding monasteries. They were provided with all sorts of drinks, eatables, *pan*, *letpet*, etc. as if determined to take out as much calm enjoyment out of the day as possible. Maung Po's family, as being the principal one in the village, had to take a lead in religious matters also. U Kyi had built both a *kyaung* and a *zayat*, and owing to this fact, he was called either *kgaungtaga* or *zayattaga*. The *kyaung* was presided over by a learned priest from Tabayin, who was well versed in the subtleties of the Buddha's metaphysics. To this *kyaung* the family repaired, arrangements having been made to pass the day at the *zayat*, which was close by, after receiving the *Silas* or Precepts.

The *kyaung* was situated in a beautiful and refreshing mango-grove about a mile distant from the town. The rain being just over, mountain streams and rills warbled sweetly along the mountain sides. Indeed, it was a fitting abode for contemplative monks, who resemble so much the equally contemplative and secluded Christian monks of the Middle Ages. Here and there, under shady trees, *rahans*, *koyins*, and *kyaungthas* were seen in groups. The elders were counting their beads amidst the singing of birds, while the juniors were either making jokes or engaging themselves in some boyish amusement.

After a pleasant walk of about half an hour, U Kyi and his family reached the *kyaung*. The abbot was there sitting cross-legged on a green baize cushion. The ordained priests were learning off by heart the sermons they were to deliver in public, and the young lay boys were attending on the head priest. When the family entered the presence of the priest followed by other devout Buddhists, the young inmates of the monastery retired. The lay people arranged themselves in rows before the holy man, the men taking their place before the women. After the usual prayer to the Buddha for permission to observe

the five, eight, or ten precepts, as laid down and propounded by him, the sermon began. It turned on the propriety of conducting oneself with benevolence and goodwill towards his fellow-creatures and on the necessity of alms-giving as a sure means of gaining salvation. Suffice it to say that the priest was an eloquent preacher: he brought home a strong conviction to the minds of his hearers, who rose up with a new determination to lead a purer and nobler life than they had been leading before.

But what was Maung Po doing all the time? He did kneel down, and tried to mutter something in imitation of those around him. That was, however, all. The priest noticed his downcast and chagrined look, and, at the end of his sermon, he sent for him to hold a quiet conversation with him.

"Well, Maung Po, how did you like the sermon?" began the abbot.

"Very well, Lord," replied Maung Po.

"But could you understand the Pāli quotations which it contained?"

"No, Lord, Pāli is as strange to me as the language of the birds; to confess to you the truth, even now I cannot understand very well the meaning of the precepts which the people repeated after you."

"Then," rejoined the priest, "if that be the case, let us reserve the subject for some other time as the day is far gone."

And the congregation dispersed.

CHAPTER V.—RELIGIOUS ASPIRATIONS.

When Maung Po reached home that day he recalled to his mind the short conversation he had with the abbot. Brooding and brooding over it, a change came over him. He felt somehow that he was capable of being inspired with religious aspirations. He had been brought up in no religion at all; nor had he received any religious instructions at his mother's knee as is the wont among the people of the West. But he had read something about the principal religious systems of the world, and in his happy-go-lucky fashion, backed up by a smattering knowledge of Paley, he treated every religion with some degree of indifference. He, however, consoled himself that the duty he owed to Religion would be accomplished by his believing in an Intelligent Immutable Creator, and by observing the five Precepts of Buddhism. So, only a few weeks after the

occurrence of the events narrated in the previous chapter, Maung Po received a message from the abbot to come and have a chat, as his ideas about religion were very hazy. It was about 7 a.m. when he received the message. Maung Po told his mother that against breakfast time he was going to the *Kyaung*; his mother said "very well," and he sallied forth.

He found the old priest counting his beads with a face expressive of calmness and a rigid control of the passions and the animal instincts. The holy man said: "Well, Maung Po, you have come at last; and my young heretic, what have you got to say?"

"Lord," Maung Po replied, "I have nothing particular to say, except that I have no knowledge of the sacred language, and consequently, perhaps, I do not put an implicit faith in Buddhism."

"What!" the abbot almost yelled in an irate tone, "what! no implicit faith in Buddhism, the religion of your father, mother, relatives, and forefathers. Yes, this is the result of your English education. You want to wear shoes everywhere, and you scoff at your national faith. I have been dunning into your father's thick head not to put you in an English school, and what do I see before me now? A queer monster of a being: neither an English Christian nor a Burman Buddhist."

"But, Lord, allow me to say that, with all my Western education, I am still a Burman at least: my mind might have changed a little but my sympathies are Burman. Lord, permit my rudeness in saying that you are confounding the nationality of a man with the religion he may have adopted."

"Well, well, I am not arguing about that. Now, young man, to come to the point, tell me plainly what you, at all, believe in."

"I believe, Lord, in a God, the Creator of man and the Supreme Ruler of this Universe."

"Creator! what nonsense you are talking! There is no creator at all. The so-called creation is regulated by the two immutable principles of Right and Wrong."

"If that be the case, Lord, please let me know how man came to dwell on this earth."

"Well, listen, young man, to what I am going to say. Man's first beginning is unknown even to a Buddha. In fact, our Lord Gotama prohibits our ever thinking on this subject, which is so difficult and intricate that it has a tendency to

make one mad. An egg produces a bird, a seed a tree. Now which comes into being first: the egg or the bird, the seed or the tree? Even so, is the origin of man beyond all human comprehension."

At this point of the discourse, the priest waxed eloquent and a merry twinkle in his eyes bespoke his elation and confidence in his controversial power. He continued: "young man, if you wish to argue about any thing you must, in the first place, know all about it. For this purpose, you should go to the fountain-head of such knowledge. Now you have been arguing on a subject, which you know so very little. Study first the *Pitagat* in its original or Burmese translation; after this, come to me and we shall be able to understand each other mutually."

The holy man then recited a great many quotations, all illustrative of the goodness, benevolence, and purity of the Buddhist faith. In conclusion he said: "This is, indeed, *the faith* of salvation. It is the best of all religious systems on account of its adaptability to all grades of society, and the cosmopolitan view it takes of human actions and human frailties."

At the end of this preaching, Maung Po bowed down three times and departed.

CHAPTER IV.—WALKING ALONE THE PATH OF VIRTUE.

We might say that Maung Po became converted by the old abbot U Zina. Ever since his interview with the holy man, an idea seemed to have sprung up in him that there was a spiritual future before him, a future, which, when looked upon relatively, would make his present life a state of probation. The Buddhist principle of "whatever thou sowest thou reapest" was brought home to his mind. From that moment he was determined to devote himself to all that was good and true and eschew all evil things. But partly through his English education, his idea of the manner of storing up "*kutho*" or merit was somewhat different from the popular belief. One day he had a talk with his father and some *kyauktagas* on this point at a tea-party given in his house.

Among others U Paung, U Pe, U Thein were invited. The party continued talking till the small hours of the morning. The subject was thus stated by Maung Po:—

"I am of opinion that the Burmans should reform themselves a little in the matter of storing up *kutho*. It is admitted that three ways are open for so doing: by *Dāna*—practising Charity; *silā*—observing Morality; and *Bhāwanā*—withdrawing the mind from surrounding objects. Of these, *Dāna* is the easiest way to follow. And now, *kyaungtagas*, how will you practise it?" Each of the *kyaungtagas* answered in turn.

U Kyi: "Why, by building pagodas, *kyaungs*, *zayats*, and digging tanks, of course."

U Paung: "By giving away one's wealth to others."

U Pe: "By supporting the *pōngyis*, whose presence is or necessary for the continuance of our religion."

U Thein: "By distributing copies of the scriptures and keeping them in a state of preservation. The Dhamma or doctrine is the Buddha's agent in the world."

Maung Po then said: "*Kyaungtagas*, all of you seem to have ignored the amelioration of your brethren; the saving them from suffering and pain. Why, if I had plenty of money, among other projects, I would certainly think of founding or endowing a hospital; especially a hospital for mothers and then infants, and if I had still spare money left, I would found scholarships or schools for the spread of education."

The above is a pretty fair representation of Maung Po's ideas on the point in question. We might say he was an Anglicised Burman. His previous associations must have prompted him to give such an answer.

We are happy to say that Maung Po, unlike many of his *uneducated* brethren, kept his sabbath, shunned liquor, and was temperate in his habits. On the 8th, 15th waxing, and 8th waning, and the new moon of every month he might be seen going to *kyaungs* and pagodas in the company of his parents, brothers and sisters, and his neighbours. It was a great gain to him to be in such company. On every fast day he learnt something—a something which has a tendency to suppress his animal instincts and raise his soul to a higher sphere.

CHAPTER VII.—THE WATER FESTIVAL.

"The *Thingyan* will fall at 5-30 a.m. on Tuesday, the 5th day of the waxing moon of Tagu. The *Thagyamin* will come down riding on a buffalo, holding a lance in one hand, and a fire-brand in the other." This is an extract from a palm-leaf manuscript read out by Maung Po one morning to his parents

before breakfast. The family fell to discussing their future prospects.

"The *Thagyamin* will come down riding on a buffalo"—muttered U Kyi slowly. This portends evil to our cattle. We must be careful lest they should be blighted with disease. The coming year is a bad year; it is fraught with all sorts of evil; cattle will die, war will break out, and the country will be destroyed by fire."

"Husband, just so it is," chimed in Ma Hmôn, Maung Po's mother.

But whether the year was to be good or a bad one, it must be ushered in all the same. Accordingly preparations were made for the purpose.

When the *Thingyan* guns were fired, it was customary to hold up little goblets of water containing flowers emblematical of peace and happiness, and call upon the gods of the sky, air, earth, and water, to extend their protection over all. So, little goblets were bought, and flowers provided for the ceremony to be observed on the going-out of the old year, which would take place on the day following. Besides, for the people were prepared sundry eatables among which figured the '*Thagyamin*', which consisted of rice with fried prawns or dried fish powder.

The three days of *Thingyan* were jolly days to young folks. In the morning and the evening of each day, there was general splashing of water. Young men and young maidens vied with each other in doing honour to the occasion, and there was good humour all round. Ma Mè, a grown-up girl in the neighbourhood, came to splash on Maung Po some water she had brought in a silver bowl. She took him unawares, and he, turning round, seized her by the hair. Ma Mè said: "Go on, do what you like to me." He then threw water on her head, which he tapped rather lightly. After this Ma Mè went away, swelled with maidenly pride for having bearded the lion in his den.

In the evenings during the *Thingyan* period, preparations were made for the '*Kadaw*' ceremony, which some have wrongly rendered by '*begging pardon*' (after Judson), Cool water was procured in brand-new earthenware jars; and plantains and cocoanuts were brought as necessary accompaniments. These *kadaw bwè*s were generally carried by young ladies on their head and taken to parents, grand parents and *sayas*. And just before bed-time, a distribution was made of fragrant *thinaka* water to passers by on the road.

As connected with the *Thingyan* ceremony, we must not forget to mention about the popular belief among the Burmans that the *Thingyan* period is the best time for tattooing, not only the common marks on the legs prescribed by national custom but also the tattooing of *senis* or red marks which sometimes impart invulnerability to the tattooed person. There are different kinds of *sés* or charms as '*kaya theik-di*'—freedom from all physical pain, and '*piya theik di*'—amatory charm. '*Kayatheikdi*' again consists of 'bullet proof,' 'sword proof,' 'stick-proof' etc. We must give credit to Maung Po's Western education for his disbelief in all this charlatanry and quackery; but, nevertheless, according to the inexorable *tônzan* (custom), he had to submit himself to the tattooing of his legs.

CHAPTER IX.—COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

When a writer of fiction has created his hero, he is generally expected to find him some heroine. In conformity with this custom, we must, we suppose, evolve out of our inner consciousness some heroine for Maung Po.

In the foregoing chapter we have already had occasion to allude to one Ma Mè of the Water Festival renown. She was a chaste girl, and tall, comely, and lady-like; and being of respectable birth her hand was sought after by the fashionable beaux of the village. Ma Mè and Maung Po had known each other from their childhood. They had played together in those golden days of boyhood and girlhood, and their partial estrangement in later days was due to the coyness and maidenly reserve on Ma Mè's part.

Ma Mè was the only daughter of U Pi: the sole heiress of his boats, houses and paddy fields. U Pi was a great conservative. He hated every innovation introduced by English-speaking Burmans. Once at an *Ahlu* he gave vent to his hatred by saying "I can't bear to see young Burmans booted and stockinged as if they are suffering from some cutaneous disease." At first, he had a strong objection against his daughter receiving English-speaking young Burmans as her visitors because, he said, "they are heretics and have no respect for their parents, *sayas*, *kyauungs* and pagodas; and besides, having no moral backbone, they are given to gambling, and such vices."

But U Pi was not aware that in Ma Mè he had a reasoner with the tongue of an Eve in the matter of eloquence and persuasive power. Ma Mè represented to her father that Maung

Po was quite a different specimen of the English-speaking class. Sober, affectionate, and kind, she said her lover was a pious Buddhist, and a respecter of traditions, who took off his shoes as a mark of respect, and held in reverence the pagodas, *pôngyis*, and his parents. He was a model of a young man, and him she must have by hook or by crook, otherwise she threatened she would put an end to her life by "swallowing opium, taking arsenic, or strangling herself." Of course, poor old U Pi had to give in, and Ma Mè welcomed her lover.

Maung Po had read somewhere about—

A perfect woman nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and to command,

and he seemed to have found in Ma Mè an embodiment of this sentiment. Tall, graceful, with finely-cut lips, bright flashing eyes, long dark lashes, a lofty and spacious brow, and possessing an unblemished character, he thought he had found his 'queen' in her—a being to be loved, cherished, and adored. He, therefore, set about to woo her and gain her love, if he could.

Unhappily, at first, his amatory tactics were all frustrated by the intervention of U Pi. He wrote some letters to his lady-love; but they were all intercepted by the old father. (*N.B.*—Cranky fathers generally have good daughters). He tried to visit Ma Mè in person; but his visits were forbidden. Maung Po knew no other way of gaining access to the person he had set his heart upon, and he was brooding and brooding over his ill-fate and disappointments, when he received an announcement from Ma Mè herself that her house was open to receive him though it might be closed to other suitors. Need we say that Maung Po's joy knew no bounds on hearing this happy news?

The consent of Maung Po's parents to the proposed match having been previously obtained, it was arranged that the *Lubyo* should visit the *Apyo* every Saturday and remain at her house till 12 o'clock in the night. From this arrangement, our readers will perceive the mathematical precision and punctuality of the visits of Maung Po—the result of his Western education. We might here give the *raison d'être* of this arrangement by saying parenthetically, that our hero was at the time helping his father in his business of trade and managing his landed estates, and that, European-like, he set aside every Sunday as a rest-day for the rest of his mind and body.

And now as to the *modus operandi* of Burmese courtship.

¶ The time after 9 p.m., *i.e.*, at the first crow of the cock, the generality of marriageable girls receive their suitors, who come dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. The parents of the girl generally retire to give full scope to the amatory tactics of the *Lubyo*. Then commences a conversation of a most miscellaneous character, ranging from topics of cooking *naypi* to the ways leading to Nirvāna. The *beau* engages himself during the intervals of talk by eating *letpet* or chewing betel, and does not retire till midnight or the small hours of the morning. This is allowed to go on till a confession is made by both parties. Then takes place either an elopement or a marriage with the consent of the parents on both sides. Of course, in such love-making, we must not omit to mention a risk which all lovers run, *i.e.*, of being stabbed, or hammered with an empty-bottle or crowbar. Such occurrences, however, are but rare.

Maung Po's courtship partook of the same character as has been sketched above; and as his visits were made weekly, we might skip on to his marriage.

The twelfth waxing Nayōn was fixed by the astrologers and the wise men of the village, as an 'auspicious' day for the wedding to take place. In the evening, there was a great concourse of people in the bride's house. The *apyos* engaged themselves in preparing tea, mixing *letpet*, and distributing cigars, while the *lubyos* employed their time by joining the chorus of a musical band that was playing. At about 8.30 p.m. the '*kadaw*' ceremony took place. The parents of the bride and the bridegroom were seated on carpets, and before them were arranged '*kadawbws*' consisting of cocoanuts, plantains, tobacco, etc. placed in '*daunglans*.' The bride and the bridegroom then stepped forward and knelt down and prostrated three times before each of these personages. U Kyi and U Pi pronounced benedictions to the effect that the young couple might keep their marriage-tie intact and unbroken till they were parted by death, that they might live to a hundred and twenty years, and that they might be blessed with dutiful children.

There was plenty of jollification and innocent mirth, and the visitors did not disperse till after midnight.

CHAPTER X.—HONEYMOON AND PILGRIMAGE.

There is a belief among Burmans that the *kutho* or merit has a tendency to cement the bond between persons, when it

is acquired conjointly by such persons saying prayers together before an image, giving away charitable offerings together, going on a pilgrimage together—all these will tell in the next existence. In accordance with this belief, Maung Po and his happy young wife organised a party to go on a pilgrimage to a Pagoda situated on the eastern bank of the river, a few miles from their village.

There were, of course, preparations made for nourishing the inner man while on the journey. Eatables, drinks, and confectionaries of all sorts were prepared, and, judging from the number of wooden trays containing these things, one would fancy that the party was bent on pleasure-making rather than on storing up merit for the next existence.

By 3 a.m. the party of pilgrims had assembled on the cool sandbank bathed by the gentle ripples of the river. The bright November moon was shedding her silvery rays overhead. Maung Po approached Ma Mè's side and gently touching her on the shoulder said:—

"Look what a noble scene is before us. The Yoma so renowned in tradition and song forms our background; how sublime it looks at this time of the morning. This mighty river is before us. Generations after generations have passed away; and still it rolls and rolls on for ever.—"

"Yes," said Ma Mè, intercepting the rapturous rhapsody of her husband, "these two objects may truly be called the hour-hand of an *andrakat*. A world or *kalpa* lasts for 64 *andrakats*. To have an idea of an *andrakat*, imagine that there is a huge table stone, measuring a yozana (about 12 or 13 English miles) in length, breadth, and thickness, and that a small bird once in every 100 years comes and rubs its beak on it: the time consumed in rubbing off the entire block of stone will be equivalent to an *andrakat*. We count time by generations. How small and insignificant and unstable are we when compared with these objects before us?"

The boat came and the conversation between husband and wife was dropped.

The pilgrimage was a pleasant trip. The cool and invigorating north breeze was blowing; and the air on the river surface, devoid of any noxious mixture, gave the pilgrims a hearty appetite.

The current was strong, and the wind was against the boat; so it had to be poled along the bank. A solemn stillness

reigned all round, save that it was now and then broken by the morning-call of the birds and by the splashing of water.

The sun had just appeared in the eastern horizon like an orb of gold when the boat reached its destination. The pilgrims scrambled up the shore. The youngsters ran and jumped about, and some of them jumped into the river for a swim, while others started off to look for wild sour plums and leaves to be used along with *ngapi* at their meal. The elder pilgrims put on plates and small trays such food as they desired to offer to the Pagoda. When all the pilgrims were ready, they started off to make offerings before the sacred Image of Gotama Buddha. They took a circuitous path bounded on either side by thick trees and elephant grass, and, after wandering about for some 200 yards, they came in front of the Image.

This Image is called the Shinminpetlet Yesetlet (the Lord lying on his back and the water dripping down). It rests on a huge table-stone with its placid face turned towards the sky; and on its navel fall drops of water, which trickles down from the top of a precipitous hill overhead. There are some incrustations of potash, soda, and chloride salts lying about, which most Burmans believe to possess wonderful powers in relieving certain ailments. The pilgrims bathed their faces with water trickling down from the navel of the Image believing that they would suffer from sore eyes no more.

Offerings were made and prayers were said. Maung Po and Ma Mè knelt side by side and each prayed to be the life-partner of the other in all future existences before merging into Nirvāna. After performing these sacred duties, the pilgrims returned to the boat where a good meal awaited them.

After a delightful outing, the pilgrims returned to their homes which they reached just before mid-day.

CHAPTER XI.—HOME LIFE.

It is an undoubted fact that intellectual advancement goes hand in hand with material progress; and that what is true of a society is likewise true with regard to an individual. Thus the home of an English-speaking Burman differs in many respects from that of his non-English-speaking brother. The former looks cosy, comfortable, and sanitary, while the latter at its best but presents a dingy aspect, here and there relieved by *chunam* or other marks of betel-chewing, etc.

And let us now see what sort of a home Maung Po had. We must say that it was a happy comfortable home—an Elysium in fact. Maung Po consigned all his household cares to his better half Ma Mè, who was a capital housewife. She was a good hand at accounts. Under her husband's directions, she kept an account of all the daily expenses. She superintended the cooking, managed the servants and personally attended to the two chubby little children—for by this time she had become a mother. Ma Mè worked day and night in the house; she said she was the "Queen of the house" while her husband must look to getting money for the maintenance of the family. She was an early riser. She would get up at 5 a.m. every morning and prepare tea or coffee as the case might be, for Maung Po, who, according to his occidentalized habits, would not get up till after 7 a.m. The children were washed at 6 a.m. After this, they were clothed and fed. The rest of the morning was occupied in preparing breakfast and eating it. In the day time, there was a stall to attend to, and numerous bargains to be struck with people who came to buy paddy—the produce of the ancestral lands. In the evening, dinner had to be prepared, and children to be put to bed. Then at 8-30 p.m. punctually, she had to bring a cup of tea with plenty of milk to Maung Po, who would be reading some English books in his 'study' with his legs cocked up in an easy chair.

The two principal features of Maung Po's home were, a good and select library in the inside, and a delightful little garden on the outside. The library was pretty well stocked with the works of the principal English poets, essayists and historians. It contained also the principal works in Burmese literature. He was a great reader—and he could well afford to be so with plenty of money, and plenty of time hanging on his hands.

The garden outside was tastefully decorated after the European fashion. There were gravel walks and pleasant sheets of cool water. There was also a fountain fed by a mountain rill. The garden arbour was the scene of pleasant memories to Maung Po. It was there that he arranged some of his love-meetings with Ma Mè in his younger days, and now, in his maturer years, it served as a retreat from the heat of summer, where he could read, muse and meditate.

Maung Po's parents, brothers, and sisters had all been carried away by the cholera which raged a few years ago in

his village. His grief caused by these bereavements weighed heavily upon him. It was on this account that he had a studious and sequestered life "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife". In fact, at one time, he seriously thought of retiring from the world and entering the cloisters. But he was a man who would think twice before he acted. He meditated long on the subject, and he even sought the advice of his wife. One evening, after tea, they were seated together when Maung Po said :—

"Ma Mè, I am thinking of becoming a *pôngyi*. Will you give me permission * to do so?"

"Why husband, do you really intend to leave myself, and the two little children behind you? A wife without her husband is like a house without posts."

"I feel so sad and lonely, Ma Mè. My parents, brothers, and sisters are all dead and gone. And the world seems so blank to me, that I am seriously thinking of becoming a *rahan*, whose condition is free from all cares, disappointments, griefs, and sorrows, which are inseparable from this world of laymen."

"You may do what to you appears to be the best, and the wisest course to take. But my dear husband, I would like to bring to your notice that the virtue of a monk is but a passive virtue, while that of a laymen is an active one. Which of these two, do you think, is better than the other? The one is a selfish virtue, which does good only to self and little or no good to others. No doubt, the mortification of the flesh, the restraint of the mind from wandering, and preaching the Great Truth of Humanity to others, are laudable objects. But this virtue cannot, by any means, be compared to that active virtue, which, though continually surrounded by temptation, always comes off victorious, which leaves the benevolent and family affections impaired, and which can do the greatest good to the greatest number."

"Yes, Ma Mè, I must admit that your arguments savour somewhat of the views of utilitarianism, about which I have read so much in English books. I am afraid your arguments have brought conviction to my mind."

"Or, husband, I would state my arguments in this way: you desire to seek self-absorption and the banishment of your

* According to the rules of the Buddhist priesthood, husbands must have obtained leave from their wives before they can turn *pôngyi*.

sorrows by entering the state of asceticism, thus cutting off all your ties with your family and the rest of the world. Why can't you attain these two objects by remaining a layman and studying and writing books? I will give you a year's grace for you to try this experiment. It is just possible that you may become the radiating centre of an influence that would benefit, refine, and elevate your fellow countrymen, who sadly need preaching regarding the cultivation of the Spirit of Patriotism, which is based on unselfishness and a high sense of honour."

Need we say that, on the expiry of that year, Maung Po still remained a layman, a loving father, and an affectionate husband?

The End

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